Vol. XXXVIII. No. 149 *March 1949*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I.	Culture and Religion	*Michael Tierney*
II.	An Aspect of Nationalism	*Terence de Vere White*
III.	Denny Lane and Thomas Davis	*Denis Gwynn*
IV.	The Swiss Miracle	*John J. Horgan*
V.	Violation of Sanctuary	*P. G. Kennedy*
VI.	Black Eagle of the North	*B. G. MacCarthy*
VII.	Irish Bardic Poems: 89	*Lambert MacKenna*
VIII.	Plotinus and Augustine	*Arthur Little*
IX.	The "Catholic Convert Rolls"	*Francis Finegan*
X.	The Zambesi Mission	*Charlotte M. Kelly*
XI.	Elizabeth Ann Seton	*Isabel C. Clarke*
XII.	Ireland and Jacobitism	*Richard Hayes*
XIII.	Reviews of Books	

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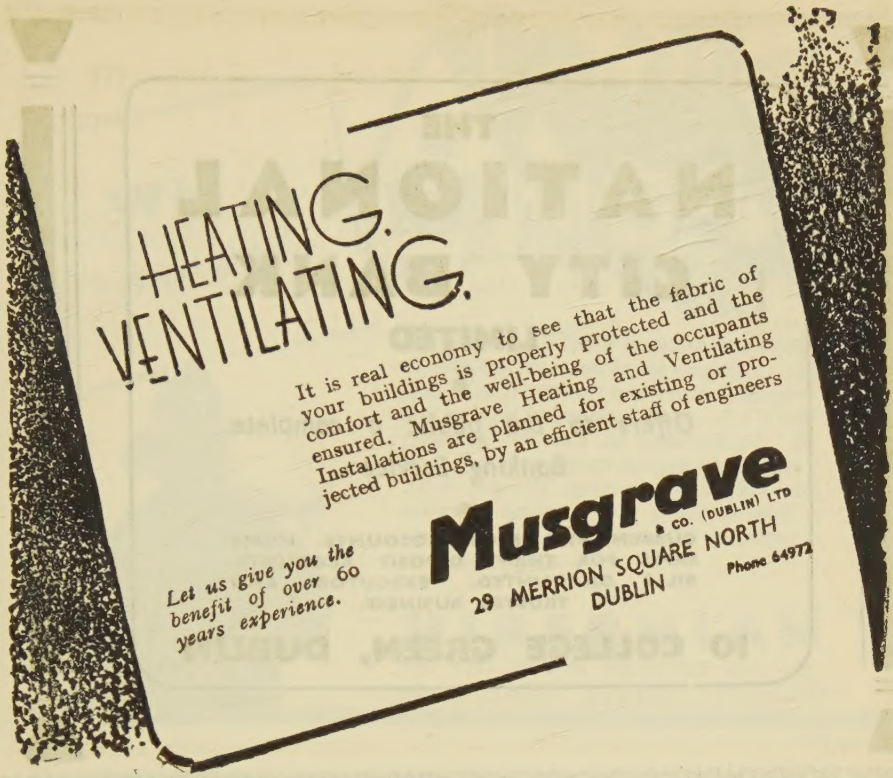
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THERE are signs that the return towards political and economic stability which has been so marked a feature of Western life during 1948 has been accompanied, and perhaps in the deepest sense caused, by a movement of intellectual recovery, of return towards realism and common-sense among the most influential leaders of Western thought. It would be easy to point to surprising examples of this recoil from the abyss. The recent writings and broadcast addresses of Lord Russell are perhaps the most interesting, not merely as showing the recoil in an unexpected case but as providing a touching demonstration of the stresses and uncertainties which accompany a convalescence into sanity. For students of contemporary thought who are less interested in its morbid phases and more in its normal behaviour, there should be great significance in the almost simultaneous publication, late in the year, of three books on Culture and Civilisation by three men long famous for their work on these and kindred subjects.

The three books, in the order of their appearance, are *Religion and Culture*, by Christopher Dawson, being the Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh in 1947;[1] *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*, by T. S. Eliot[2]; and *Civilization on Trial*, by Arnold J. Toynbee,[3] which is a collection of essays of different dates, the majority belonging to the last two years. It is perhaps worth noting that of these three famous writers only one, Mr. Dawson, is a Catholic, though all three make emphatic profession of their Christian faith. To expatiate on the standing as writers and thinkers of any of the three would be both superfluous and impertinent. While all are concerned with culture, they approach their subject from very different aspects. Mr. Dawson's starting-point, as befits a Gifford Lecturer, is Natural Theology and its potentialities as a clue to history. Mr. Eliot, who is a poet and a literary critic, is interested above all, as his title indicates, in the correct use of words and in the precise meaning of statements. Mr. Toynbee's *Study of History* is among the most famous books of modern times, and these essays may be described, in Max Müller's well-known phrase, as chips from his work-shop. For those who have found the abridgement by Mr. Somervell only a little less daunting than the six massive volumes of the original *Study* this beautifully-printed and easily-handled book of less than three hundred

[1] London: Sheed and Ward. 1948. 10/6 net.
[2] London: Faber and Faber. 1948. 10/6 net.
[3] Geoffrey Cumberlege: Oxford University Press. 1948. 12/6 net.

pages should prove a very useful introduction to a most original and stimulating method of reading history.

The title of Mr. Toynbee's volume indicates briefly the nature of the most serious problem with which all thoughtful people are now troubled. Long before the political and social threat which is incarnate in the Communist conspiracy had reached its present nightmarish intensity, there was a widespread feeling of uneasiness about civilisation itself. This uneasiness was not, as might appear on a hasty view, the product of war-psychosis, although naturally the calamities of two world wars have greatly intensified it. Spengler was in one sense a successor of Nietzsche and Matthew Arnold, and the notion of " degeneration " was already widely familiar when the unhealthy prosperity of the late nineteenth century was at its height. Indeed it might be reasonably held that the idea of " crisis " is quite as old as that of " culture " itself. People only became conscious of their possession or lack of " culture " simultaneously with their consciousness that it was something to be defended or fought for. In fact, the operative word here is " conscious " ; for, as Mr. Eliot does not fail to point out, " culture can never be wholly brought to consciousness". The attempt to do so was first made in the fifth century B.C., when the old traditional way of life of the aristocratic Greek city-state was undergoing a rapid and violent change due in part to economic and social causes and in part to the incapacity of Greek paganism to stand up to critical examination. The Sophists were the first exponents of self-conscious culture, and a case might be made for the view that much of our contemporary crisis springs from the revival of Sophistry which was so large a part of the Renaissance.

When we speak of " culture " we mean in the first place, as Mr. Eliot puts it, " all the characteristic activities and interests of a people : Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar. The reader can make his own list." This is of course culture in what is called the anthropological sense, as distinct from the personal or class sense in relation to which Arnold distinguished the cultured man from the Philistine. It is in this anthropological sense that we speak of cultures or civilisations (for here the words are synonymous) as the units of historical study. What gives *A Study of History* much of its fascination is Mr. Toynbee's clear enunciation of the principle that in this sense cultures are what makes history intelligible. The link between the three books before us is their emphatic agreement in the view that there is no culture without religion. On this point there is a remarkable resemblance, in spite of their distinct points of view and methods of approach, between Mr. Dawson's third lecture, " The Relation between Religion and Culture," and part of Mr. Eliot's first chapter on " The

Three Senses of Culture". No culture, says Mr. Eliot, can appear or develop except in relation to a religion. But this relation is one of a very special kind. It is an error to assume that culture is in some way more comprehensive than religion. The fact is that they are, " when each term is taken in its right context, different aspects of the same thing". And Mr. Eliot bases upon this proposition the condemnation of two false views. One is " that culture can be preserved, extended and developed in the absence of religion " ; the other " that the preservation and maintenance of religion need not reckon with the preservation and maintenance of culture". The refutation of these false views is the main theme of Mr. Eliot's book, of which almost every sentence has the brevity and wisdom that we associate with the classical.

For Mr. Dawson, a culture is " an organised way of life which is based on a common tradition and conditioned by a common environment". From the very beginning, this way of life has been " deliberately ordered and directed in accordance with the higher laws of life which are religion . . . The complete secularisation of social life is a relatively modern and anomalous phenomenon. Throughout the greater part of man's history, in all ages and states of society, religion has been the great central unifying force in culture. It has been the guardian of tradition, the preserver of the moral law, the educator and the teacher of wisdom." Literature and philosophy, government and law, and all the institutions of family, marriage and kinship, have at all times had their origin in or been bound up with religion. Among primitive communities, such as the Australian aborigines or the Indians of the Great Plains, ritual is almost co-extensive with life and all social organisation seems to exist for the sake of a prolonged ritual dance.

It is the purpose of Mr. Dawson's lectures, starting from the concept of Natural Theology, to show that from the purely human and scientific or historical point of view religion must be given its due place in any consideration of the past or future of culture. In a series of fascinating lectures on " The Sources of Religious Knowledge and the Religious Organs of Society " he discusses in turn the cultural roles of the Prophet, the Priest and the King and the varied ways in which the perversion or exaggeration of these essential functions has affected the character and historical fate of different civilisations. The role of the Prophet he traces from the Shamanism of the primitive hunting peoples (of which our own Druidism was surely a special and very late survival) to the classical Semitic type found both among the Hebrews and in Islam, and finally to its perversion and secularisation in the modern revolutionary, whether of English, French, German or Russian type. From the Fifth-Monarchy men of seventeenth century England there is a clear enough line of connexion down to Robespierre and St. Just, Marx and Hitler ; but since the French Enlightenment this type has been peculiar for the dissociation

it exemplifies between "the Messianic or charismatic principle and its religious background," a feature already to be found among the Ismailis and Assassins in medieval Islam.

Priesthood is the religious function which has had the most direct and enduring influence on culture. From the very beginning of the earliest archaic form of higher culture in the city-states of pre-Semitic Mesopotamia, the priesthood has been the professional learned class *par excellence*, the class responsible for the maintenance of tradition and for the keeping and interpretation of records. This function has, of course, been secondary to its principal task, the ordering of ritual and particularly of sacrifice. In some societies, especially in India, these essential functions have undergone an immense overgrowth. Hinduism is a great example of a culture in which all social life has been frozen in forms set for it by a priesthood devoted to an exacting ritual from which at its most vigorous there developed an imposing metaphysic to embrace and transcend its original crudity. As a reaction to this dominance of ritual, Buddhism developed in turn a new, if kindred, metaphysic and finally a whole vast outgrowth of popular *cultus*, till, from having started from an almost atheistic basis, it became in its Mahayanian form the higher religion of a great new Far Eastern society.

"From the beginning," says Mr. Dawson, "the priest has been a teacher as well as one who offered sacrifice. The tradition of a learned priesthood lies at the heart of all the great civilisations of the world except China and Hellas." Just as the revolutionary energumen is the modern secularised form of the primitive Shaman and the prophet of the archaic cultures, so the modern intelligentsia is the secularised version of the historic priesthood. Comte saw this clearly a century ago when he gave a special place to the *savant* in his Religion of Humanity. It is this drastic separation of functions once organically united that lies at the heart of the modern crisis. In Greece the priesthood was of minor importance, but the union between sacred and profane knowledge remained intact till the time of Pindar, whose *Sophia* meant at one and the same time religious and ethical wisdom and poetical skill. Here again it was the Sophists, the inventors of prose as an artistic rival to poetry and the rationalist critics of religious tradition, who began the revolution and were thus the forerunners of the modern class of professional intellectuals.

Kingship in archaic societies and in many of the primitive cultures from which they sprang was the political counterpart of priesthood, the two being in a sense merely two aspects of a single phenomenon. The King never lost his ancient religious function with its immense magico-spiritual potency over the life of society. Even to-day the crown and sceptre are the vestigial symbols of the King's original sacred character. Just as we look to India for the characteristic hypertrophy of the priesthood, so we may look for that of the kingship to the ancient divine monarchy

of Egypt, and we may find less extreme examples of it in the modern Empires of China and Japan. It is possible that the still flourishing sacred kingships in Africa, such as those of Oyo and Ife in Nigeria, are belated products of radiation from the court of the long-vanished Egyptian incarnation of Re and Osiris. The characteristic of the divine King is to be associated with Justice, often regarded as a goddess. We find the rudiments of this association in Greece as well as in Egypt, and there can be little doubt that at one time the Greek King stood in some close if mysterious relation, as the Egyptian did, to the god of the dead. In our own Irish tradition, as in those of China and Egypt, the well-being of the King was clearly associated with the fruitfulness of crops and herds, and his illness or death was supposed to bring danger of famine and similar social disasters. Mr. Dawson does not discuss the modern secular counterpart of the King as he does those of the prophet and the priest. It will, however, not fail to occur to his readers that this counter part exists in great profusion as the political party leader. We may even find occasional examples of a similar mythology in the case of the leader as is associated in the first book of Herodotus with the figure of Cyrus with whom Mr. Dawson's lecture on kingship closes.

There is naturally not space in a brief article to follow Mr. Dawson in his intensely interesting discussions of sacred science (Rita, Tao) sacred law (the Confucian Code) and the Way of Perfection or the contemplative life in their varying influences upon the great historic cultures of India and China and their parallels elsewhere. His final lecture deals succinctly but suggestively with the relation of religion to cultural change. Here he joins hands in the most interesting way with Mr. Toynbee, one of whose essays is entitled " Encounters between Civilisations " and in whose system of thought this idea of clash and change plays a vital part. Mr. Dawson begins with the proposition that all higher cultures are mixed. They represent an essentially precarious human achievement, and the tension within them of diverse elements is apt to make them always unstable. This is at once simpler and more easily acceptable than Mr. Toynbee's elaborate *schema* of dominant minorities and internal and external proletariats. In times of cultural synthesis, Mr. Dawson goes on, religion is a unifying force ; and he illustrates this thesis admirably from ancient Egypt, modern Africa, and our own Middle Ages. In times of cultural disintegration, on the other hand, religion becomes a revolutionary force as it did in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. In such cases, history shows a twofold danger for both religion and culture, inextricably bound together as they must be. Either religion may become fossilised by such a close union with a doomed and disappearing culture, as happened in Egypt ; or religion may attempt or be forced to emancipate itself entirely from the culture with which it has been united, thus bringing about that very process of secularisation which has become the crisis of the West.

In his last pages Mr. Dawson suggests a certain hope of a new synthesis arising from the vast modern expansion of Western culture. This expansion, its cause, nature and probable consequences, are the ever-recurring theme of Mr. Toynbee's essays. It had its parallels in ancient and medieval times, particularly in the great expansion of Greek culture after Alexander, which reached its full growth in the Roman " Universal State". As in our modern case, there was a spiritual vacuum, a hollow place in the heart of the Hellenic culture, which was later filled by the spread of the alien Christian religion. In its earliest phase, under the Portuguese and Spaniards, the modern expansion was " a valiant attempt to propagate abroad the whole of our Western cultural heritage, including its religious core as well as its technological rind". The crisis which constitutes our present problem had its origin in " a double event, in which the Jesuits' failure was accentuated by the Royal Society's simultaneous success". The failure was the frustration of Father Matteo Ricci's gallant attempt to convert the Moguls and the Chinese. The success, even more tragic in its ultimate effects, came from the decision, after the disaster of the Thirty Years' War, " to cut out the wars of religion by cutting out religion itself, and concentrate on the application of physical science to practical affairs . . . . The Western civilisation that has since run like wildfire round the world has not been the whole of the seamless web ; it has been a flare of cotton-waste : a technological selvage with the religious centre-piece torn out." The upshot is the present schizophrenia of the West, an unparalleled process of world-unification on purely technical lines accompanied by an almost equally unparalleled expansion of Christianity which has been powerless to guide, inspire or consecrate this wonderful secular achievement.

No other writer has so sharply delineated for a disintegrating culture the outlines of its probable fate as Mr. Toynbee has done. Armed with a whole range of striking analogies from other civilisations, he believes that our world is already far gone in the same degenerative process as overcame that of Greece and Rome. For him the " decline and fall " was not the " triumph of barbarism and religion " that Gibbon called it, nor was the Antonine Age the golden epoch with the eloquent description of which Gibbon's great work begins. It was rather the Victorian Age of Rome, and the decline which set in so rapidly at its close had its origins many centuries earlier : in the schizophrenia which overtook Periclean Greece at the very height of its splendour and which manifested itself physically in the Peloponnesian War. This division was to lead by a slow, inexorable process to the forcible unification of the ancient world by Rome and its subsequent relapse into barbarism. Far from having been destroyed by religion, it may rather be that the ultimate purpose of the whole development was to provide a frame-work for the diffusion of Christianity. It was the latter's secular function to restore a dynamic culture based on a real religion and on a traditional morality.

On Mr. Toynbee's showing our present position is analogous to that of the Graeco-Roman world just before the outbreak of the Punic Wars. At that time two gigantic powers were getting ready for a contest which was to give the victor absolute mastery over the much weaker Hellenistic states. Such analogies, of course, can never be pressed in detail. Our world is now much more clearly and effectively divided between Russia and the United States than that of the Mediterranean was between Rome and Carthage even after the first Punic War. Mr. Toynbee thinks that the ultimate disaster in ancient times was the " knock-out blow " which finally gave Rome the mastery. In his view the one hope for the modern world is the avoidance of so drastic a solvent.

Probably the most actual of the essays in this book is that on " The International Outlook " delivered in May, 1947. Here, after dwelling on the enormous preponderance of the two Great Powers and on the weakness of the European States and the British Commonwealth, he points out that what is called " European Union " will in effect mean simply the partition of Europe into an American and a Russian sphere with the frontier along the Elbe and the Danube. In spite of this clear-sighted diagnosis, he goes on to express a vague hope that the two Great Powers may succeed in practising " non-violent co-operation " towards each other for an indefinite period and that a semi-socialised Western Europe may in some way provide a half-way-house between them. There is a strange disharmony between this essay and that on " Christianity and Civilisation " delivered at Oxford in May, 1940. There Mr. Toynbee raised the question whether, after all, civilisations may not be said to exist for the sake of religions rather than the reverse, and suggests that the ultimate purpose of the West's dominance over all other cultures may be the triumph of the Church in its Catholic form, "with the spear of the Mass, the shield of the Hierarchy and the helmet of the Papacy " over all other higher religions and all philosophies from Ikhnaton's to Hegel's. Recent events prove at any rate that the Catholic Church is deeply engaged in the struggle which is opening between a half-hearted Western World where culture has been almost divorced from religion and a post-Byzantine East groaning under its cruel subjection to an irreligious Western ideology. Even humanly speaking, history suggests that whatever may be the outcome of the struggle for the Universal State, Christianity will once again survive the vicissitudes of man-made cultures, because it alone possesses the truth about God, man and the world : it alone conforms with reality.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

AN ASPECT OF NATIONALISM

BY TERENCE DE VERE WHITE

MORAL courage is not so common in Ireland that we can afford to let any manifestation of it appear unnoticed. The philosophy which most of us have applied to public affairs is that which Mr. Pickwick expounded to Mr. Snodgrass: "It is always best on these occasions to do what the mob do". "But suppose there are two mobs?" suggested Mr. Snodgrass. "Shout with the largest", replied Mr. Pickwick.

Mr. John J. Horgan, whose autobiography has recently appeared [1], rejected Mr. Pickwick's advice. Thirty years after the death of John Redmond he still regards the Irish political scene with the eyes of a constitutional nationalist—an attitude certainly not calculated to curry favour with the mob, although it can be belittled on the ground that it is too innocuous to cause offence. It could be justly belittled if Mr. Horgan were content to be a mere *laudator temporis acti*, but he is much more than that. He champions the revival of the Irish language, but criticises the Gaelic League; he praises the schoolmaster in Pearse, but deplores the insurrectionist; he writes always from the Catholic standpoint, but he has hard words for the part played by the clergy in the overthrow of Parnell.

This is a less emotional approach to politics than we have grown accustomed to. For more than a decade we have been taught that our history began in 1916, ended in 1921 and began again in 1932. The Irish story is longer and more consecutive than that. I had hoped that the time had arrived when it might not be considered treasonable to examine impartially the affairs of this country since 1916 and the men who took part in them; but signs are not wanting that once more political heat is being artifically engendered, and the time may soon arrive when detachment must give way to passion and prejudice. Mr. Horgan's book should be discussed now while it is still possible for a good Irishman to expound unpopular opinions. It is well that this generation should be reminded that patriotism existed even before 1916 and that men loved their country who had no desire to call it a republic. We are all republicans now. Some of us were born so; others achieved it; some have had it thrust upon them. If we feel more heroic than Redmond's generation, we should remember that those who urged the claims of Home Rule and the revival of the Irish language in their day put themselves out of the reach of preferment. Then nationality was paraded at a price; now it is the only wear.

To call the Rising of 1916 a rebellion is to ask for trouble; Mr. Horgan

[1] Parnell to Pearse. By John J. Horgan (Browne & Nolan. 1948. 15s.)

goes further and calls it " an unjustifiable rebellion ". It is true that at that time 'Up the Rebels ' was more commonly heard than ' Up the Risers'. But we have changed all that. Although the great majority of Irishmen were opposed to the 1916 insurrection at the time, it can not be said that they approved of it only when the threat of danger was past. Before the British left Southern Ireland an overwhelming majority had voted for Sinn Féin in successive elections, had driven constitutional nationalism out of politics, and had endorsed the action of Pearse and his comrades. Of the old Irish Party, Timothy Healy smiled on the new men ; John Dillon would have none of them ; Redmond was dead. It may be profitable to examine the reasons why Mr. Horgan, for one, took no further part in politics after 1918.

In December of that year took place the fateful election which swept the constitutional party off the map of Irish politics and ended Irish representation at Westminster. The war was over and it seemed that the future happiness of the world lay in the gift of President Wilson. Two months before the election—and while the issue of the war, though fairly certain, was not yet decided—the Irish party and the United Irish League (a vigorous offshoot of the parliamentary group) decided that the Sinn Féin demand for an independent Irish republic, its objective since 1917, was calculated to antagonise the Allied Nations, who would regard it as pro-German, and that the national demand should be for Home Rule. As Wilson had already made his notorious pronouncement on self-determination, it was a poor tribute to his sincerity to predict that he would regard a request for the full application of his principle to Ireland as offensive. Was self-determination to be interpreted as meaning that only satellites and subject nations of the Central Powers could break away from their rulers, while the subject races of the Allies must remain on the band-wagon ?

Mr. Horgan, for one, was anxious that Nationalists and Sinn Féiners should make a common case at the forthcoming Peace Conference. "After all ", he wrote, " there is now very little difference in principle between the Sinn Féin Party and ourselves . . . . The only real difference is a difference as to method, more especially the value of parliamentary action." Mr. Horgan's advice did not receive the attention he thought it deserved and he addressed it to his party again, but on this occasion through the Press. " Sinn Féin, then ", he wrote, " is in the ascendant at home, but this is only one side, and certainly the least important side of the problem ; for if the Irish Party has lost ground in Ireland through the application of coercion, the apparent failure of constitutional methods, and the bad faith of English statesmen, Sinn Féin has been far more discredited abroad by the defeat of its German Allies . . . it would be no more incongruous for Mr. Dillon to proceed to Berlin in order to sue for justice for Ireland at the feet of a victorious Hohenzollern than

it would be for Mr. de Valera or his nominee to proceed to Washington to ask President Wilson to apply the principle of self-determination to Ireland."

Eoin MacNeill, writing to Mr. Horgan, assured him that those who were for an Irish Republic " will place no obstacle in the way of a united national demand". On the 14 November 1918, John Dillon, writing from the House of Commons as Leader of the Irish Nationalists (John Redmond died a few months previously), defined his own position in the matter. In the first place he refused to consent to the Sinn Féin policy of absention from the House of Commons. To do so would, in his opinion, be to hand the representation of Ireland into the keeping of Sir Edward Carson and his followers during the critical time that the Peace Conference lasted. Secondly, Dillon gave his opinion as to the nature of the conference. It would be an assembly of the victorious allied nations, before whom Germany and her allies would appear as suppliants, an assembly which but for Sinn Féin would have been warm in its friendship to Ireland. Sinn Féin had given the British government a chance to make anti-Irish propaganda. The Irish cause was not popular with the allied nations. Irish representatives would not be allowed to approach the Conference. The only hope was " to devote all our exertions to securing the good offices of the President and the people of America". After this letter the Nationalists and Sinn Féiners made no further attempts at reconciliation. They fought the election as opponents. Dillon and his party were eliminated from Irish politics. Mr. Horgan did not agree with Dillon's attitude. He refused to contest the election, but he remained constant to his party and never sought a place in the victorious ranks of Sinn Féin.

It only remains to recall the aftermath : the First Dail, the shooting on the same day of the two policemen at Soloheadbeg, the Black and Tans, the Northern pogroms, the Treaty, and the Civil War. In the light of subsequent history every word that Dillon wrote proved to be true, but his action ensured the extinction of moderation in national counsels and ensured the divorce of Ireland from the British Commonwealth. Her re-marriage when the Treaty was signed was an arranged match with an unwilling Bride. It was never a union of souls. The man who tried to make it one was murdered.

Politicians should only speak after the event. Their warnings bring about the very disasters they wish to avoid ; their promises become their gaolers, if they are consistent ; become their accusers, if they are not. Had Dillon retained his wise opinions and acted with comparable wisdom, he might have led a united Ireland before his death. The Sinn Féiners who vanquished him had no cause for complacency. According to Mr. Horgan : " A new and tragic chapter of our history had opened, the last word of which has not yet been written. In so far as the Declaration of

Independence was honest it ensured the division of Ireland ; in so far as it was dishonest it ensured the Civil War. But the incident at Soloheadbeg proved that the extremists had triumphed. Practising these new methods of violence and ignoring the patient policy John Redmond had followed, they tore Ireland into pieces and stained her fields with blood . . . . They sacrificed Irish unity for Irish sovereignty and attained neither."

Many will question Mr. Horgan's belief that the policy of John Redmond would have ever led to Irish unity or independence. Two years after the Home Rule Bill went on the Statute Book, its provisions were amended at the behest of Edward Carson, and it seems unlikely that a united demand by Nationalists and Sinn Féiners led by Dillon in 1918 would have obtained from Great Britain anything more than the 1914 Home Rule Bill with six northern counties left out. Such a measure would have had one advantage over the present arrangement. If the six counties were governed from Westminster the Nationalist minority would, I believe, receive better treatment than they do from the Stormont Government. Minorities in Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia were probably much happier under the old Empire than they were in the new States created at Versailles. We have an uncritical admiration for Grattan's Parliament which blinds us to the fact that many of the Irish clergy believed that Catholics would fare better in a Union with England. Fear far more powerfully than a sense of justice governs the behaviour of people : since the foundation of the Irish Free State the Protestant minority has had little to complain of in the treatment it has received from successive governments. In England to be a Catholic is a positive advantage under a modern Tory Government, and the high offices given to Lord Pakenham show that it need not be a bar to advancement from a socialist government. In all these cases the minority is a small one. It is the size of the nationalist minority which frightens the Orangemen in the North, just as the Irish government of the eighteenth century lived in fear of the Catholic majority which it dominated.

Mr. Horgan gives an interesting account of the Irish Convention which sat in Trinity College in 1917 and of which he was a member. That body had been summoned to find a way out of the problem created by northern hostility to Home Rule. The Northern Unionists dished the conference and it is possible, as Mr. Denis Gwynn has pointed out in a review of Mr. Horgan's Book, that he is over-sanguine as to the possibilities of that Convention. It is perhaps best remembered now as the means by which Erskine Childers came into Irish politics. For Childers Mr. Horgan had affection and admiration ; but in the light of after events it is interesting to note a remark in a letter from Sir Bertram Windle, who was a member of the Convention : " I am sorry to say that I think Childers has been and is a dangerous doctrinaire, and his influence is at present harmful. But I still hope for a settlement." Mr. Horgan's solution

to the Ulster difficulty, which he expounded at this time, still deserves attention. His proposal was that Ulster should have an absolute veto over any legislation by an Irish parliament in so far as the province was affected by it. This veto was to be exercised by a committee presided over by an ex-officio member of the Irish government.

In view of the fact that the British government always denies responsibility for Partition, it should be remembered that this Irish Convention set up by Lloyd George was hamstrung from the beginning by reason of the fact that the British Government guaranteed to the Ulster Unionist Council that it would not be bound by the decision of the Convention should that decision not meet with the approval of the Ulster Representatives; moreover the Ulster representatives were not given plenipotentiary powers by their Council. As Sinn Féin boycotted the Convention, it is difficult to see what hope there was of its success; but it is clear that the moderate and educated men who took part in it would have evolved a scheme of Home Rule extremely favourable to Ulster had they been empowered to do so. The British guarantee to the Ulster Unionists made a farce of the whole proceeding.

Now that the question of Partition has been pushed once more into the forefront it might be well that propagandists on this side of the border should make it clear what protection the susceptibilities of northern Unionists would be given in an all Ireland parliament. There is no doubt that they regard it as certain that united Ireland means for them Roman Catholic rule, the imposition by the Government of legislation which supports the moral teaching of the Church on such questions as Divorce, Birth Control, Literary Censorship and, in the educational sphere, the compulsory learning of Gaelic and submission to the educational process known as "teaching through the medium". We may think it wrong of our northern brothers to disagree with us in these important matters; we may think that we should, if we could, teach them to know better; but it is natural that they should struggle to retain their present independence of action for so long as they can. And can we afford to discount the sincerity of their professions of loyalty to the Crown? We are touchy about our own symbols and are not prepared to forgo them so easily. Indeed, some of us thought them worth a Civil War.

A prosperous South and attractive terms for union must in the long run prove more effective than indiscriminate abuse, exaggerated complaints, misleading metaphors—or force in any form. "If Ulster stood in the way of Irish freedom, Ulster would have to be coerced", said Mr. de Valera in 1917. This remark, in Mr. Horgan's opinion, helped to make Partition inevitable. After the Treaty, when the split in the ranks of Sinn Féin was sharply defined, some on both sides met to plan joint action against the North. Two of Michael Collins's followers called for recruits for this purpose from election platforms in 1922. We have in

our midst middle-aged men who make the same martial music to-day. It is tempting to say that they help to make Partition permanent. The Duke of Wellington is not usually regarded as a great *Irishman*; but he declared and demonstrated that he was prepared to go any length to avoid civil war in Ireland. He had seen civil war in Spain. We have seen it in Ireland : we are only now, after a quarter of a century, beginning to recover from its wounds—the scars will remain indefinitely. Any Irishman who proposes a repetition of domestic violence in order to satisfy any national aspirations is a menace to the community which he professes to serve.

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Reading Mr. Horgan's pages must inevitably provoke regret not only for the opportunities that were lost from time to time, but at the deterioration in so many ways of the quality of the life of the nation. What have we in political journalism to compare with the editorials of Arthur Griffith or D. P. Moran? When the Irish Convention was formed in 1917 (and shunned by the largest political party in the country) it could still count among its members : A.E., Sir Horace Plunkett, Childers, Redmond, Devlin, Stephen Gwynn, Lord MacDonnell. Suppose a Convention were to be formed in Ireland to-day to attempt a settlement of Partition and suppose the largest political party in Ireland were to refuse to take part in it, would it be possible to get together a group with equal knowledge and influence not only able, but willing, to serve? I doubt it. In Mr. Horgan's youth the Abbey boasted of Yeats, Synge, and Lady Gregory, with supporters of the calibre of George Moore and Edward Martyn. Were it not for a very recent flicker of life, one would be tempted to say that the Abbey had no function now but to house the tombs of Irish drama.

An early enthusiast in the Gaelic League, Mr. Horgan is eloquent in tracing its decline. Quotation is imperative : " For the most part they were humble folk, for it was a people's movement, but it attracted all ages and classes. In its ranks farmer and labourer, shopboy and shopkeeper, professional men and clerk, met in terms of perfect equality, united by patriotism. It was a great movement and might have had a great future. Here the seeds of a new Ireland germinated but never flowered. Had it continued to develop on those lines it might have given us that solid moral and social foundation which Bishop Grundtvig's High Schools gave to Denmark. Unfortunately this splendid beginning was futile. The means were mistaken for the end and what was then a crusade eventually became a ramp. I learnt the language with enthusiasm and pleasure ; my grandchildren learn it because they must. In fact the Irish language has now ceased to be a language and has become a profitable but uneconomic industry."

The term *Gaelic Culture* is often used—usually with an aggressive emphasis suggesting that it is different in essence from other cultures and

not subject, as it were, to the ordinary rules. " The Gaelic League ", Mr. Horgan writes, " made the mistake of believing that by the revival of the Irish language alone Irish culture could be revived and that if the language died, the Irish nation would cease to exist. It failed to see, or it forgot, that to restore Gaelic culture something more was needed, namely to raise the general cultural standard of the people ; and that the language was only one element, and not necessarily a vital one, in that culture. All people speak some language, but not all are cultured. In truth if language were a vital ingredient of nationality the Irish nation would no longer exist, a proposition with which few people, least of all the Irish, are likely to agree. The Gaelic League also forgot that the extreme form of nationalism, which it eventually propagated, is destructive of all culture, for it *ipso facto* refuses to learn from other lands and other times."

A younger generation may regard some of these strictures as symptoms that the fires of youthful enthusiasm have been quenched in Mr. Horgan, but will find it difficult to explain some of Pearse's opinions on the teaching of the Irish language which Mr. Horgan quotes in his pages—and which, if uttered aloud by an inspector of schools in our enlightened times, might possibly cost him his job.

With a few exceptions the material from which governments in this country are formed is, intellectually and culturally speaking, of indifferent quality. The issues that divided the people of Southern Ireland are dead ; the Labour Party alone can boast a right to exist, on the grounds of recognisable identity ; unfortunately that is almost its only cause for boasting. The other Parties are merely factions. On fundamental political issues they all agree ; on economic policy they broadly agree ; they differ only about personalities. Mr. Horgan shows very clearly that in 1918 Irish Nationalists and Sinn Féin, with the exercise of a little tact and common sense, could have presented to the world the spectacle of unity in Catholic Ireland. To-day, with little effort, all parties in Southern Ireland could unite to promote the moral, economic, and mental welfare of the whole community.

If we make of our twenty-six counties a state that can compare in civilisation with Switzerland or the Scandinavian states, the North will fall into our basket eventually. Those who govern in Ireland as elsewhere in this mad, unhappy post-war world have an immense task. Let it not be said hereafter that, bankrupt of the statemanship which the task required, they preferred to gaze at the border like children—who, unable to employ themselves usefully, looked around for something to make a noise with.

TERENCE DE VERE WHITE

DENNY LANE AND THOMAS DAVIS

BY PROFESSOR DENIS GWYNN, D.LITT.
University College, Cork

AMONG all the devoted group of friends whose names are associated with Thomas Davis, Denny Lane holds a specially intimate place. Gavan Duffy, of course, has done more than any other to make known the writings and the incomparable public services of Davis : by editing and collecting his work after he died ; by his masterly study of the movement in his *Young Ireland* and its sequel *Four Years of Irish History* ; by his two biographies of Davis (the shorter version being designed to reach the widest public) ; and by his immediate efforts to arrange for the portrait by Burton and the statue by John Hogan. To Duffy also the private papers of Davis were entrusted, and he made full use of them. But it was Denny Lane in Cork who received from D. O. Maddyn the large collection of his intimate letters from Davis ; and Lane also possessed one of the few contemporary portraits of Davis, which has since been generously lent by Lane's daughter, Mrs. McDonnell, to the Public Museum in Cork. By Mrs. McDonnell's permission I have been enabled to study her collection of Denny Lane's private papers, which include some revealing letters of the Young Ireland period.

I

Davis, like Lane, came from County Cork. He was born in Mallow in October 1814, and his mother, Mary Atkins, belonged to a family well known in Cork, partly Cromwellian and partly O'Sullivan. His father was an Englishman of Welsh extraction, who was a military surgeon in the Royal Artillery and had been an inspector of Hospitals during the Peninsular War. He died when Thomas Davis was only four, and Mrs. Davis then settled in Dublin, where her son was to spend almost his whole life, apart from holidays in county Tipperary as a boy and the excursions into all parts of Ireland which he undertook later when he had become connected with the *Nation* newspaper in association with Gavan Duffy. His connection with Cork was therefore remote ; but it made a bond between him and three of his closest associates in the Young Ireland movement, Lane, Barry and Maddyn, who were more directly associated with the southern capital. Their relations with the movement, and particularly in regard to Davis, deserve a closer study, which throws light on the problems which caused serious difficulties for the whole movement in relation to O'Connell and " old Ireland " generally.

The names of Denny Lane and M. J. Barry will always be closely associated, as two young men of the same age who went from Cork to Dublin as students in Trinity College and afterwards at the Irish Bar ;

became intimate members of the group who gathered round Duffy and Davis on the *Nation*; and subsequently returned to Cork city, where they became the local leaders of Young Ireland. They were four years younger than Davis, who entered Trinity College when he was only seventeen but did not graduate there until 1836. Lane and Barry were then young undergraduates, but they were all law students together; and while Davis was called to the Bar in 1838, Barry and Lane were called respectively in 1839 and 1840. They were all members of the new College Historical Society which was formed in 1839 to discuss more controversial subjects than had hitherto been allowed; and in the same group of law students or young barristers was David Owen Maddyn, who had not been at Trinity but was allowed to attend the meetings of the Society. He first got to know Davis in 1838 and became one of his closest intimates three years later, when they met again after Maddyn had returned from London. Of the same age as Davis, he was four years older than Lane and Barry; but like them, he also came from Cork and he was a cousin of Denny Lane.

All three were Catholics by birth and upbringing, but Maddyn had given up his faith after going to Dublin and became a Protestant. His name was originally Madden, but he changed it in later years to Maddyn, when he had gone to London and obtained employment on conservative newspapers there. Between him and Davis a close friendship developed rapidly, and a large proportion of the original letters from Davis which survive are addressed to him. In Duffy's larger biography of Davis there is a long contribution[1] by Maddyn which gives a vivid impression of Davis and his friends about the year 1838 when they first became acquainted. They did not meet again until the spring of 1841, but thereafter their friendship was extremely intimate. It was to lead to unfortunate results some four years later, when Maddyn had attained a considerable literary reputation. Maddyn then brought out the third volume of his *Ireland and its Rulers*, which contained a great deal of insulting criticism of O'Connell and a chapter describing the views of a young idealist named "Dormer," which his friends easily recognised as a portrait of Davis. Maddyn's adoption of Protestantism had by this time become well known, and some of the reviewers of his new volume alluded openly to this fact, and infuriated Davis by declaring that an apostate from the Catholic faith was in an invidious position in criticising and insulting the leader of the Irish Catholics.

By that time the *Nation* had been in existence for more than two years, and a brilliant group of young contributors had gathered around it. Among them all Davis had quickly established a definite intellectual ascendancy. Gavan Duffy himself has placed on record how his own views had changed rapidly under the influence of Davis; so that he no

[1] *Life of Davis*, pp. 15–25.

longer had the typical attitude of the oppressed Ulster Catholics, which had been his when he edited the *Vindicator* in Belfast. He had become thoroughly inspired by the ideal of a non-sectarian nationalism which Davis had preached in the *Nation*. Nearly all the regular contributors who took part in the weekly meetings were Catholics ; and they responded, as Duffy did, to the generous ideals of toleration and comradeship which Davis inculcated. Duffy records[1] that at the beginning Davis, Dillon, John Pigot, John O'Hagan and himself composed the weekly conference ; by the autumn of 1843 it included also McNevin, M. J. Barry, Denny Lane, and Denis Florence McCarthy.

These young men were all either barristers or law students ; but Denny Lane's position was different to the others, who aspired to make their livelihood either at the Bar or in journalism. Barry had already published a text-book of Chancery law, in collaboration with a young barrister who became notorious afterwards as Judge Keogh. But Lane was the only son of a Cork distiller, and he was to assume the management of that family business, besides other commercial interests in Cork. He had a keen interest in art as well as literature, and the political preoccupations of Davis appealed to him less than did his literary work. " By all means stick to poetry," he wrote[2] to Davis during this first year of the *Nation*, " but pray do not abandon professional success—you are fully equal to two strong pursuits. If you should meet political disappointment, your literary talents and poetical longings will always keep existence fresh." He showed discernment also in impressing upon Davis that he could do best service to Irish literature by writing " short, narrative and not descriptive ballads".

Lane's high spirits and gay humour appear in many references to these earlier gatherings of the *Nation* group. D. F. McCarthy, another Cork member of the party, is described affectionately by Duffy[3] as " our Sydney Smith," with a humour as " spontaneous as sunshine " which often enlivened their most serious discussions. He was " a genuine humourist " ; whereas Barry, who also was a real wit, " uttered his good things with a gravity which set off their dry humour and was accused of preparing the *mise en scène*". Lane said of him on one such occasion that Barry was like another Cork man who " used to produce a pun once a year and give a dinner party to let it off, sometimes getting up appropriate scenery, machinery and decorations". Elsewhere Duffy quotes a revealing letter[4] from McNevin which describes another meeting. " You may judge we were in good trim when Davis was sentimental and talked seriously of having speculated on death in his infancy. Lane not being here, we had none of the discussion on copperplate, line-engraving or

[1] *Young Ireland*, I. p. 133.
[2] *Life of Davis*, p. 114.
[3] *Life of Davis*, p. 131–2.
[4] *Young Ireland*, II. p. 95.

generalities of art, which show how far a little knowledge can carry an adventurous spirit." On another evening, when Barry and Lane were going home together from one of the weekly meetings which had been held at Duffy's house, Barry slipped into the canal at Portobello Bridge and was pulled out by Lane, who reported the story with gusto to his friends. Duffy recalled[1] that epitaphs were written to commemorate the drowning of Barry, and he quotes one couplet which stuck in his memory :

> Pale, pale were his bonny cheeks and clammy as the clay,
> Pale, pale were his whiskers twain, the dye was washed away.

II

While the " monster meetings " were in full swing during the summer of 1843, the British Association held its annual meeting in Cork city : and Davis went to attend it[2] " as a native of the county". Afterwards he went for a holiday further afield, partly to confer with men of local influence, like Maurice O'Connell and Smith O'Brien (whose acquaintance he hoped to make when he was in Limerick), and partly to see places of interest or of scenic beauty and to learn about their antiquities. He made a thorough tour of west Cork, and in Cork city he counted on Lane to act as his principal guide. Records of his journey survive in various personal letters which Gavan Duffy quotes[3] in his *Life*. To D. O. Maddyn he wrote : " Lane will, I know, do all he can to show me what's to be seen. He and I get very intimate. He is a fine fellow, but hardly selfish enough for great success—unless as an apostle." The letters reveal what cordial relations existed between them, and show Denny Lane's irrepressible gaiety in dealing with his very serious-minded friend. Maddyn had warned Davis that he should dress more carefully than he usually did if he was to make a good impression : " As you may be meditating what clothes to carry with you, recollect that Cork is a very dressy place, and that *Sartor Resartus* ought to be much meditated by them. Therefore carry your, etc. . . . . Never take off your gloves while in Cork, and affect for the time a pretty strut, and you will be sure to fascinate." To this Davis replied, characteristically : " As to Cork being ' dressy,' *haeret in cortice*, but let it do as it likes. I'll do as I like and dress as I like, and let it like me or not as it likes, and be damned to it. I fear no one, and I hope I shall court no one for vanity, applause, or anything but a great end."

The intense seriousness of Davis made Lane chaff him in a way that must have been a real relief during those years of incessant overstrain.

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[1] *Young Ireland*, II. p. 98.
[2] *Life of Davis*, p. 160.
[3] *Life of Davis*, pp. 169–174.

Duffy quotes a delightful letter which Lane wrote to Davis after his visit to Cork :—

> How I laughed this week at the opinion the people of Cork formed of you ! " Oh, this Mr. Davis, what a modest young man he must be ! He writes prose and poetry so well, and he draws up reports admirably, and yet he is too retiring to speak even about his own report to the Association." Oh, Thomas ! Thomas ! I felt the cordial influence of a glorious laugh cheering and warming me inwardly, for I was obliged to wait until I got to secret places to guffaw at the credulity of the people of Cork who thought Thomas Davis a modest man—the man who sets to at every art and science with a perfect certainty of beating anyone—who makes bold attempts to surpass Grattan, Courier and Carlyle in their respective styles—who's as ready to deliver his opinion on a theory of refraction or the metaphysics of Fichte as on a sonata, a painting, or a lobster salad—and who utters all his judgment with an *ex cathedra* air that tempts his best friends to throw him out of the window. Talk of Tom McNevin, why he is no more able to hold a candle to Tom Davis than Davis himself is to draw a declaration on a bill of exchange.

By the following year Lane had definitely returned to Cork, but Davis kept in touch with him by correspondence. " Your stubborn resolve to better Cork, whether it likes it or not," he wrote[1] in his earnest way, " is a great comfort to me. Stability, morals, and hard work—they'd better hell and make purgatory a paradise". He believed that if war with America should come then, they would " carry Repeal in six months—otherwise in three or four years if we do our duty". But Lane never could follow the breathless urgency of his friend's political aspirations, and he refused all requests to stand for Parliament. " I learn that the best men in Cork wish to make you their representative," Davis wrote to him later in the same year. " Our idea here was to work for your return for Mallow, but Cork is far better . . . . All our party are most anxious to see you in the House . . . We miss you much at our evening meetings, which have grown more serious." Later again in the same year Davis wrote to him : " I am weary wishing you were here." He urged Lane to see that Cork should not " be guilty of any meanness should the Queen come. This should be easy in Cork ; here it will be harder. . . . Why don't you write more songs ? Your last, to the air of ' The Foggy Dew,' was beautiful and comes constantly on my recollection like a southern twilight."

Even Davis found that they were all growing " more serious than they used to be "—including Barry. But Barry had just won the first prize in the *Nation's* competition for an essay on Repeal, among a flood of essays which had kept Davis and Smith O'Brien busy for many weeks as adjudicators.

Religious discussions can scarcely ever have arisen in that atmosphere which was so intensely literary and political ; but Davis always remained acutely conscious of being a Protestant. His correspondence[2] with

[1] *Young Ireland*, II. p. 163.

[2] See *O'Connell, Davis and the Colleges Bill* (Cork University Press) especially Chapter II.

Smith O'Brien, after O'Brien had joined the Repeal Association in protest against the suppression of the Clontarf meeting in September 1843, shows how sensitive he was to any attempt to identify the Repeal movement with such definitely Catholic aims as Archbishop MacHale desired. His friend Maddyn had left Ireland, but they kept up a constant correspondence, and Davis was continually urging Maddyn to write articles or books on the many subjects with which the *Nation* and its staff were concerned. The fact that Maddyn had become a Protestant was even a bond between them; and when Maddyn's third volume incurred hostile criticism in the *Dublin Review* and elsewhere, Davis insisted openly in the *Nation* that a Catholic was as much entitled to become a Protestant as a Protestant was to become a Catholic. This assertion naturally provoked further controversy, especially in the *Tablet*, in which Frederick Lucas, as a recent convert from Quakerism, published a vehement denunciation of the sin of apostasy. Even during the imprisonment of O'Connell and his lieutenants in the spring and summer of 1844, Davis had become deeply suspicious of the attitude of Archbishop MacHale and John O'Connell, who treated the Repeal Association as though it were a Catholic organisation which must be mobilised to support the demands for separate Catholic education. He wrote frequently to Smith O'Brien, urging that Protestants must stand together to assert their rights in the national movement; and to Maddyn[1] particularly he wrote his fears of a "Papal supremacy" under any Irish Parliament.

III

Distrust of O'Connell's leadership, generally, grew among all the younger men when he was released from prison and it became clear that his physical and mental energies had been gravely impaired. The old leader retired for a long rest to Derrynane, and his son John assumed the leadership of the Repeal Association. It was in these conditions that the idea arose of forming a political club, comprising all the most distinguished men in the movement, and excluding all the paid officials and other satellites upon whose support John O'Connell could count to outvote the younger men. A barrister, Matthew Moriarty, had first suggested the project when O'Connell was in Richmond Prison, and in July 1844 the 1782 Club[2] was formally approved with Smith O'Brien in the chair. Its first official meeting took place at the house of young Dr. Gray, the editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, in January 1845. Its ostensible object was to commemorate every year the declaration of Legislative Independence in 1782. But its real purpose was to establish a representative nationalist authority which would act more or less as an upper chamber to the Repeal Association. O'Connell accepted the

[1] *Young Ireland*, I. p. 139.
[2] See "The '82 Club," *Studies*, July 1944.

presidency, but took little interest in its proceedings. Of the five Vice-Presidents only Lord Ffrench was a Catholic : the others being Smith O'Brien, Henry Grattan and Edmund Boyle Roche, M.P.s, and the veteran Cornelius MacLoghlen. It was to hold few meetings in all ; for the death of Davis and the three years of famine which followed destroyed its capacity for any useful service. But in the sad years that were ahead, there were many occasions when some of the Young Ireland leaders sought to revive it as a rallying ground for the divided forces.

Davis threw all his energies into organising the new Club, and set to work to choose the uniform himself. A letter from him to Smith O'Brien survives[1] which tells of his visits to the best military tailors in Dublin and reports that twelve guineas is the lowest price at which the uniform could be bought. Some of the young men had protested against this expense, but Davis insisted that the uniform must be really impressive. He also enclosed a sheet of paper on which he had drawn pencil-sketches of alternative designs for the collar and the frogs and other ornaments. As usual, his letters on the subject were intense, and he wrote[2] to Maddyn in London : " We are getting up a 1782 Club here. You must join it ; for, with God's blessing, Ireland will take you back some day and nurse you tenderly after your exile." He wrote in a similarly earnest strain to Denny Lane, who must have smiled at his recollections of the visit to Cork two years earlier, when Davis had asserted his intention of dressing as negligently as he always did. This time his Cork friend was protesting against the extravagant uniform which Davis wished to impose upon the Club. The letters which passed between them reveal the contrast in their temperaments. Davis had written urgently to Denny Lane :—

> You ought to get your uniform at once and, at any inconvenience, attend the opening day. You should send us more members. Cork has more men fit for the club, and fewer in it, than most of our provincial cities. This club can do all we want, if it be resolutely and earnestly supported. I entreat of you to work for it, and that without delay. Send us candidates, make members, get them dresses, push its reputation everywhere. I'd like to have a talk with you on this. Barry is well and idle ; Dillon ditto. Poor Duffy has lost his eldest child, and his wife is dying. John Pigot is in London, preparing himself for the Bar. T. McNevin is working like an enthusiast. S. O'Brien is and does all we could desire. We are making great way with the educated Conservatives ; but do not talk of this.

It was certainly not through any lack of affection or admiration for Davis that Lane hesitated to respond fully to these exhortations. His reply shows the robust commonsense and good humour which made his friendship an invaluable corrective :—

> I'm sorry that I can't have a talk with you on the subject, as I confess I do not at all understand the 'Eighty Two Club. I fancied at first that I had some glimmering of its meaning, but I thought that the means adopted were altogether inadequate and inappropriate to secure the end in view. I fancied it was to make Repeal genteel —which I do not consider of any value, even if it were possible. To turn Hercules

[1] *Smith O'Brien* Papers No. 892.

[2] *Life of Davis*, p. 251.

into an Antinous and teach him to wield his club gracefully is, I think, an idle task. Let Repealers be strong and earnest, and they may be as ungraceful as they will—it is better have them clench their teeth and knit their brows than smile with elegance.

It would be impossible to form a large body of Repealers who have what may be called " position in society". If you can form a star of them so much the better, but where do you draw the line of distinction between the nucleus of aristocracy and the nebulous mass of shabby gentility which surrounds it? Begin with Lord French, Sir Richard Musgrave, Smith O'Brien, and the members of Parliament; exclude M.N.—he is indignant; admit him—well, exclude O.P. and he is outrageous; or admit him and you must admit X.Y.Z.,[1] and so on, until you include every man who can borrow a guinea and get tick from his tailor—or else you cause dissension. You must either miss your proposed object or do worse, divide your party.

No! You should have got up a good club like the Kildare-street, where a man could not complain if he were rejected; or you should have had a society of some sort like what you once proposed to Lefanu for the Young Ireland of both parties, into which men of all opinions would be admitted; or you should deluge Royal Irish Academies and Royal Dublin Societies and every old institution with Repealers. You may make the great body of the Protestants at present swallow Nationality, but you cannot make them gulp down Repeal or, as they believe it to be, O'Connellism. If they become national, 'tis all we want: the rest will follow as sure as the fruit follows the flower—you must have a spring and a summer before you have an autumn.

I had another idea about the 'Eighty Two Club, that it might be turned into a National Convention—the method in which the men were admitted at the first ballot puts this out of the question. It was very injudicious to have such a flourish of trumpets at its foundation and such trivial rules coming immediately after. (Rules as to uniform, entrance fee, etc.). There was a good deal of the old Irish fanfaronade about it which I hoped was dying out amongst us. In Cork the people in general have a great hatred of uniforms; the town councillors and aldermen here could not be got to wear robes. This I think principally arises from the morbidly keen sense of the ludicrous which Cork men generally possess. Tom Steele could not live a week in Cork.

Lane of course humoured his friend by becoming a member of the Club, and he duly acquired his requisite uniform, which is now one of the historical exhibits at the Public Museum in Cork. It is unlikely that he wore it often; but at least once he could see the delight of Davis, some months later, when the whole Club appeared in their handsome dress. They were the central feature of the great National Levee in the Rotunda in July 1845 to renew their pledge for the demand of Repeal without compromise. Davis, as a soldier's son, knew the value of uniforms as an aid to discipline and unity; and he had learnt during the " monster meetings " the technique (which was partly of his own devising) of creating spectacular effects in public demonstrations. To his friend J. E. Pigot in London he had written[2] proudly: " We shall have one hundred uniforms at the club on the 16th. Lord Cloncurry cannot come to it, but it is otherwise all right. We have had some black-beaning and disputes, but things are square enough now." In the same letter he had

[1] Gavan Duffy substituted these initials for the names actually mentioned in Lane's letter.

[2] *Life of Davis*, p. 327.

insisted that " the uniform is strictly civilian, except the foraging cap". But it was its martial character that gave most intense satisfaction to Davis when the Levee was held with overwhelming success, and he reported[1] to Pigot that it had been " the most imposing scene I ever witnessed".

When O'Brien came to propose the pledge, the corporation were seated in order down the side of the pillar-room, the Club and others on the floor ; an oval space was in the centre with O'Brien at one end and the Chair at the other ; I was close to O'B., and his breast heaved and his eyes clouded, and his voice gurgled with passions . . . . The round-room was really a noble sight, and our Club curved round the seven oligarchs (the Repeal prisoners of the previous year) and, stretching into the passages, gave it a military air.

IV

The success of the National Levee was in fact the climax of all that Davis had laboured to achieve. It was all the more welcome to his friends because it followed almost immediately after the distressing conflict between Davis and O'Connell in Conciliation Hall during the debate on the Colleges Bill. The Levee brought at least the appearance of a public reconciliation which displayed the essential unity of the Repeal movement. O'Connell's outburst against Davis had in fact been remarkably mild, in contrast with his usual language when he was opposed on any matter that affected him deeply ; but Davis was so overworked and his nerves were so much on edge that he had burst into tears ; and O'Connell, in dismay at having wounded his feelings, immediately threw his arms round him.

In a former article I have discussed O'Connell's attack on Davis. It elicited a succession of letters from Lane to Davis. It will be sufficient to quote the long letter in which Lane gives his friend a dissertation of extraordinary shrewdness upon the ever recurring problem which confronts young men who find difficulty in expressing their honest disagreement with a popular leader who commands the grateful allegiance of a people. His observations would have been equally valuable at many subsequent crises in modern Irish history :—

The first is that O'Connell is the most popular man that ever lived, and will be implicitly obeyed by a great body of the people whatever be the orders he gives them. Next, he is so used to implicit obedience, and has so often been able to get on after having cast off those who mutinied against his nod, that he will think nothing of doing the same again . . . . . Next, the man is so thoroughly Irish and hearty, and so devoted to the religion to which the people are devoted, that he is, without exaggeration, loved by them as a father. Next, the Catholics are bound to him by their gratitude for his achievement of Emancipation, and nine-tenths of the priests throughout Ireland are his servants and the people's masters. Well, what does all this come to ? To this, that his power is irresistible and that the power of the people of Ireland is rendered ten times more effective than it would otherwise be, being concentrated in his person, so that, even if it could, it should not be resisted unless in extremities. Next, he does not bear control ; you can give him no more than a

[1] *Life of Davis*, p. 310.

hint of differing in opinion from him. If you have power and differ from him, you cause a split and do serious mischief. Suppose you have no power besides your own, if you differ from him he cuts you off and destroys your usefulness to the cause. Division has been our bane and is to be avoided by every means short of dishonour, a great or irreparable injury to the cause ; if it becomes absolutely necessary to differ from O'Connell, you must get O'Brien, who is a sensible man and who will do so only in an extreme case, to express in the most temperate manner your dissent. O'Connell would never have dared to treat him as he treated you.

In conclusion, Denny Lane warned his friend, with a frankness which does great credit to them both, of the necessity to curb certain personal tendencies or faults which were apt to give offence. Perhaps nobody else but Lane could have written so candidly on that matter to Davis ; and the reply from Davis shows how readily and sincerely he accepted criticisms which were extremely difficult to write. Lane wrote, in his bantering style :—

I have heard people remark, what I have never observed myself, that there is often in your manner something very dictatorial. I suppose that I am so used to your impertinence that I do not notice the fault, but I am sure it exists, and it is a very dangerous one ; it frequently makes enemies and always deters those who would otherwise become converts. Try and see yourself as others see you, and mend the fault. You must, in the first place, feign the modesty which I believe you possess, and do not irritate a man like O'Connell ; consider your own position relatively to his and wear that deference of manner to him which you know he loves. You will thus make yourself as useful to the country as you possibly can under present circumstances . . . . . Do not overvalue any triumph in the committee ; 'tis not the conversations of the actors behind the scenes that make the drama. Your committee is good for pointing out what is to be done in the association—a kind of undress rehearsal ; but it is what is done in public that really produces the effect.

Davis, in his reply[1], admitted the truth of his friend's rebuke with complete sincerity : " What you say of my general manner is, I fear, quite true. I lose patience with the lying, ignorant and lazy clan who surround O'C. Indeed I have to maintain a perpetual struggle to prevent myself from quitting politics in absolute scorn."

V

Lane had chaffed him two years earlier on the self-confidence with which he undertook to rival the exponents of so many different arts. In the interval Davis had been prodigiously industrious. His activities had ranged over almost every field. He had been writing poetry or newspaper editorials ; discovering artists and musicians ; organising Repeal reading-rooms ; learning to read and speak Irish ; studying local antiquities everywhere ; working at maps and heraldry and statistics ; finding authors to write books on many subjects ; preparing to write many volumes of historical research himself ; and all the time he had been steeped in political activities, watching every event or possible contingency and

[1] *Life of Davis*, p. 302.

instigating new movements or associations with an insatiable restlessness of spirit. It was no wonder that his manner had become dogmatic and abrupt, and that he showed impatience with anyone who would not adopt his ideas. But the most dangerous fault, which Duffy shared also and McNevin still more, was the constant assumption that the opponents or critics of Young Ireland were incurably dishonest. It was to Denny Lane also that Davis wrote, after the apparent reconciliation at the Rotunda Levee, a letter[1] which reveals in its most extreme form this attitude of fierce contempt towards a large group of men who cannot conceivably have been as corrupt and vile as he thought them :—

> If anything could change my mixed feeling of admiration and censure of O'Connell into genuine hostility, it would be the vicious adulation and lying incentives proffered to him by the little, stupid, mercenary devils about him, and his patronage of the vilest and weakest of them. They are trying to drive O'Brien, myself and others to secession, hoping to have the uncensured handling of public money with their gluey claws, but they shall be disappointed and beaten.

His nerves had been so strained with overwork and mental activity that, according to Duffy, Davis even[2] contemplated issuing a challenge to a duel to one of O'Connell's supporters. Duffy implies that it was Captain Broderick ; and Denny Lane's friend, M. J. Barry, was deputed by Davis to act on his behalf. Duffy prints the note from Barry to Davis which records his own part in the transaction and explains that he had consulted a " gentleman advanced in life, formerly in the army," who had been " engaged in several affairs of honour and would, I am satisfied, recommend no course which was not strictly in accordance with the most rigid demands of self-respect". This gentleman's considered opinion, Barry reported, was " that there was no ground for demanding an explanation, but that the best course was to let the matter rest. Under these circumstances I could not feel justified in advising you to any other course, and I am quite satisfied to take on myself the full responsibility of recommending you to take no further steps in the transaction".

Denny Lane was surely right in his conviction that Davis needed not only a respite from his activities but a closer contact with life outside Dublin. That is probably the explanation of Duffy's surprising statement that, in the months just before his sudden death, " some of his friends urged him to go circuit and establish habitual relations with his profession " as a barrister. He had never practised, and he had devoted himself to patriotic journalism, and cultural propaganda, and politics with such concentration of purpose that it seems incredible that he could think of relaxing his activities on the chance of building up a legal practice in the provinces. John Dillon, who found circuit was a constant interruption of his work for the *Nation*, wrote to tell Duffy that he was " greatly annoyed " by the suggestion and that " everyone would say he was driven

[1] *Life of Davis*, p. 304.
[2] *Life of Davis*, p. 304.

out of politics". He suggested instead that Davis and Duffy together should start a new penny magazine to " work against the powerful confederacy that had been formed to crush you". But Denny Lane was thinking on different lines. He was concerned less with politics than with providing some alleviation from overwork for Davis, which would incidentally give him more contact with life outside the *Nation* office. He wrote :—

> I am very glad that you are coming down to the Assizes. The going circuit, I think, more than anything else, can make a man acquainted with the provincial mind of Ireland, which is really of much greater proportionate power than the ex-metropolitan mind of any other country. In fact we have no metropolis—neither the court of claret-coloured coats nor that of wigs and gowns is enough to make Dublin anything but a provincial town. We have no theatre, no periodical literature, no gathering of artists, no great merchants—above all, no legislative assembly collecting into a focus every ray of intellect and enterprise in the country. In fact we have nothing of what makes Paris or other capitals the " governor " of the great engine of a nation.[1]

VI

Davis was not yet thirty-one ; and when he died suddenly from sheer overwork in September 1845, both Lane and Barry gradually lost their former close contact with the group in Dublin ; and as the famine deepened, they became chiefly occupied with local problems. Lane had become closely concerned with a variety of business interests, including his family's distillery and the coal business, which subsequently made him the leading figure in the introduction of gas to Cork. Barry, combining newspaper work with his unimportant practice as a barrister, became editor of the *Southern Reporter* early in 1848. Both had discovered that Young Ireland as a party had been overwhelmed by the reaction that followed upon O'Connell's death at Genoa. When the Irish Confederation was formed at the beginning of 1847, they both reported that any attempt even to form a Confederate Club in Cork would scatter the very considerable influence that they had succeeded in organising in sympathy with Young Ireland's ideas. At the general election of 1847 they were able to ensure the return of James Fagan as M.P. for Cork. Though he was not an open supporter of Young Ireland, his election was one of the few that gave encouragement to the party in a moment of utter catastrophe.

Only when the revolution in France in February 1848 transformed the outlook and gave courage to those who had been timorous before, did the two leading Young Irelanders in Cork resume their propaganda openly. They formed clubs at once ; and when, after Mitchel's deportation, the Confederates Council was replaced by a smaller executive to undertake the enrolment of a National Guard, both Denny Lane and Barry were elected on the new national executive. Letters to Lane from

[1] *Life of Davis*, p. 312.

Smith O'Brien and from O'Brien to Lane, which have been preserved, show that Lane and Barry were the chief promoters of the great rally of clubmen in Cork which O'Brien inspected and addressed by moonlight some weeks before the rising. Smith O'Brien's personal memorandum of the time describes the scene :—

> An immense concourse of people—who, though not members of Clubs, appeared to be animated by the same spirit—having collected outside the building within which the Clubs were assembled, I promised to address them in the city park. Accordingly, about nightfall, by the light of a glorious moon, the Clubs marched in regular order to a convenient spot and took up a separate position. There could not have been less than from 7,000 to 10,000 persons present. The scene was most animating. I left this morning under the impression that the population of Cork would be ready to act with the utmost vigour whenever the country should demand their services.

Before Smith O'Brien left Cork he learned that Gavan Duffy and the other Nationalist editors had been arrested in Dublin. Within less than a fortnight the Habeas Corpus Act was suddenly suspended and a warrant was issued for O'Brien's arrest. Dillon and Meagher hurried to meet him where he was staying with a friend in Wexford, and they decided together that they could not do otherwise than start the rising at once. In Cork city and county the military garrisons were so strongly reinforced already that no attempt at a rising could be made there. Numerous arrests were made at once, and Denny Lane was imprisoned without any formal charge in the City Gaol. By late September, when he was still detained for no specific reason, he wrote to the Viceroy, asking that he should be released if no charge was being made. But the reply stated merely that he was " detained for being engaged in treasonable practices " ; and he continued in prison for twelve months.

VII

In the years that followed, Lane devoted himself chiefly to business and became a pioneer of industrial development in Cork—while, at the same time, performing fine public service in encouraging literary and artistic societies. He had never thought seriously of entering politics ; and even in 1847, when Young Ireland was in desperate straits to find candidates, he declined to stand for election because his business duties left him no time for sitting in Parliament. Not until 1876 did he make his first and only attempt as a parliamentary candidate, when he was persuaded to stand, on the death of Joseph Ronayne, who had been his friend since the Young Ireland days. He failed badly in the election, which split the nationalist vote and returned a Unionist.

But the memory of his association with Davis made Lane a much loved figure among his people ; and several of the songs that he had contributed to the *Nation* while Davis lived—especially his " Kate of Arraglen " and the " Lament of the Irish Maiden "—had become ex-

tremely popular. He wrote very seldom in the later years, when he was deeply occupied with industrial and commercial interests. His chief concern was the gas industry; and in 1868 he founded the Cork Gas Consumers Company, which superseded the former English company and rapidly became one of the principal modern industries in Cork. His abilities both as a business organiser and as a chemist were recognised by his election three times as president of the Society of Gas Engineers in London. Other enterprises in which he was a successful pioneer were the Riverstown brewery, the Cork to Passage railway and the Cork to Macroom railway; and he was a diligent member of the Cork Harbour Board. Some of his other efforts to provide employment by promoting local industries were unsuccessful, and his public spirit cost him dearly.

Lane's public services, however, are most closely connected with the cultural movements which had inspired him and Davis in their youth. Until his death he continued to be president of the School of Science; and for many years he was chairman of the Cork School of Art. With a few friends he founded the School of Music; and at the end of his life he became the first president of the Cork Archæological and Historical Society, which still flourishes. He was for many years a chief supporter of the Cork Library and Scientific Society; and when Dr. W. J. Sullivan, another veteran of Young Ireland days, as President of Queen's College promoted the Cork Exhibition of 1883, Denny Lane was one of his principal helpers.

Memories of Young Ireland were always with him in his later years, and he deplored the decline of public spirit. In a lecture entitled "Then and Now," which he delivered in 1885, he complained that he now "found young men thinking of entering an University at the age when my compeers left it, and yet I hear great complaints of overwork which I never heard of in my youth. I see few young men who are enthusiasts on any subject except cricket, lawn-tennis, yachting or bicycling". And in 1893, two years before his death, he addressed the National Literary Society of Ireland when it visited Cork, and paid perhaps his last public tribute to the memory of Davis. "I stood on the outer margin," he said with a modesty which understated the truth, "of that group of devoted Irishmen of whom my dear friend Thomas Davis was the centre and the inspirer. From him as from some great organ of life radiated all those currents that then coursed through the frame of Ireland; and back to him again converged, from the remotest extremities of the land and from the furthest outposts of our race, those counter-currents which helped to revive our country into warmth and into life. Then indeed 'a soul came into Ireland'. By the touch of his magic wand the sleepers were awakened."

DENIS GWYNN

THE SWISS MIRACLE

BY JOHN J. HORGAN

THE Swiss Confederation has recently celebrated the Centenary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1848. The occasion is one that calls for both comment and congratulation. By this organic law Switzerland was transformed into a modern federal state. Under the new regime then instituted, which has since been revised and still further centralised, its neutrality and independence have withstood the successive European crises of 1856, 1859, 1860, 1866, 1870, 1914 and 1939. Alone among the countries of Central Europe Switzerland has remained immune from the ravages of two World Wars and, like an oasis in the desert, has preserved both her peace and way of life. Diverse in race, religion and language, she has yet kept her unity of purpose and prosperity intact. The explanation and consideration of such an almost miraculous phenomenon must be of more than particular interest, even though currency restrictions have now virtually denied us access to this earthly paradise. Two recent books[1], one by that distinguished international figure Professor William E. Rappard of Geneva and the other by the well-known English journalist Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, enable us to fill the gaps which the war years and the vagaries of sterling have created in our knowledge of Swiss affairs.

The birth of the Swiss state did not, of course, take place in 1848 but five and a half centuries before when, on 1st August 1291, the three small Alpine communities of Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden—all bordering on the Lake of Lucerne—swore to protect each other in the interests of mutual security and peace—"*dum peracta quietis et pacis solidantur*". Since that time there has been no break in the continued corporate existence of what has been, since 1499 at least, an independent European nation. During that time the Swiss people have known many varied forms of political existence; but, as Professor Rappard emphasises, they have never swerved from the cardinal principle of collective security to which they owe their origin and their union. The defensive alliance formed by these three Alpine states in 1291 was mainly directed against the Austrian House of Hapsburg, which, in its dual capacity as the leading feudal authority in the mountain fastness that has now become modern Switzerland and the most successful candidate to the Imperial throne, supplied the growing Swiss Confederation with that compelling factor of federal union: a common hereditary foe.

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[1] *Collective Security in Swiss Experience* (1291–1948) by W. E. Rappard (Allen and Unwin 12/6) and *The Most Civilised People in Europe* by Hamilton Fyfe (Allen and Unwin 3/6).

For five centuries the Swiss people were only a mutual protective alliance between minute sovereign republics which, on the eve of the Reformation, came to be known as cantons. Some of these small states —such as the three founders and later Zug, Glarus and Appenzell— were rural and democratic in nature; others—such as Lucerne, Zurich, Berne, and later Fribourg, Solothurn, Basle and Schaffhausen—were urban and more or less oligarchical. Separately or together they administered as subject provinces the districts they had gradually wrested from the Houses of Austria, Milan and Savoy. Around the thirteen sovereign cantons and relying on their protection gravitated by degrees allied towns, principalities and Alpine districts such as St. Gall, Geneva, Neuchatel, the Grisons and the Valais. Finally the French Revolution and the subsequent wars of Napoleon shattered, as they did much else in Europe, this complicated and cumbersome political organism—then known as the Helvetic Body. The involved bilateral and multilateral treaties, which bound its members together and which are fully discussed in Professor Rappard's book, were then replaced by successive federal constitutions, and the number of full members of the Confederation rose from thirteen to nineteen in 1803 and to twenty-two in 1815. Between 1815 and 1848 these twenty-two sovereign cantons combined together under a transitory regime which was, in effect, a compromise between the traditional institutions which had preceded and those which had resulted from the revolutionary events in France. Finally in 1848 Switzerland, amidst the prevailing European confusion, asserted firmly and fully her national identity and adopted the federal constitution which, in its main features at all events, is still in force to-day. Modelled on the American pattern of 1789 it clearly subordinated the constituent parts to the national whole.

During the preceding five centuries the existence of these small allied communities had been frequently in jeopardy. Swiss valour had led them into disastrous foreign excursions, the most notorious of which culminated in the crushing defeat of the Swiss army by the French at Marignano in 1515. Four years later the dawn of the Reformation at Zurich added religious strife to the economic differences which already divided the rural and urban cantons. The Protestant communities, though representing a majority in population, wealth and power, were nevertheless, as the result of the political framework, in a minority in the Diet or central assembly. This religious division was accentuated by the fact that their external neighbours were no less divided on the same issues. For generations the political leaders of both the Catholic and Protestant cantons seem to have devoted their main energies to building up religious coalitions hostile to each other and to securing foreign support for these activities. Moreover the Swiss of the seventeenth century were, as Professor Rappard points out, like the Irish of the twentieth, devoted

to fighting the battles of others abroad. But they were equally determined to settle by themselves their own internal problems and to repel foreign invaders. Fortunately for them Swiss neutrality became not only a Swiss but a foreign interest. During the Thirty Years War the powerful influence of France was asserted in its support. We have witnessed the same phenomena twice in our own time, but rather as the result of conflicting than identical foreign interest.

But it was first the threats and later the invasion of Napoleon, that potent aftermath of the French Revolution, which in 1798 precipitated the first and far from successful attempt to transform the loose Confederation of sovereign cantons into a highly centralised Republic on French lines. The change was too sudden and the new constitution, with its abolition of cantonal autonomy that most cherished of Swiss free institutions, was ill adapted not only to the national tradition but to the natural social structure. In 1803, after five years of French military occupation, the complete seizure of public and much private wealth, and continued unrest, the constitution of 1798, with its many amendments, was superseded by the so-called Act of Mediation dictated by the conqueror himself. This remarkable document which reflects alike the political wisdom and practical intelligence of Napoleon, recognising (as he said) that " Nature herself had constituted Switzerland into a confederation," made the cantons into self-governing members of a pseudo-self-governing Republic. Unlike its predecessor, the Diet or Assembly became a true parliament which could reach valid decisions on all ordinary matters by a simple majority vote. But its foreign origin was fatal and it was repudiated by the Swiss people on the downfall of its dictatorial author. His fall had, however, for the Swiss Republic an even more important result. Napoleon's conquerors not only used pressure to secure the enactment of a new constitution (The Pact of 1815), which in fact retained many provisions of the old ; but by a special international Act, signed on 20 November 1815, Austria, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia and Russia solemnly " recognised and guaranteed the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland " and declared that " the neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland and her independence of all foreign influence were in the true interests of the policy of Europe as a whole". Thus what had long been the policy of Switzerland became a principle of international law.

The Pact of 1815 brought to a head, however, the long smouldering differences between the Conservative Catholic cantons and their fellow members of the Confederation. The former, through fear of domination by the Protestant majority, opposed all centralising tendencies. They claimed, not without legal justification, that the Pact of 1815, being a treaty between sovereign entities, could be amended only by the concurrent will of all its signatories. In December 1845 the seven Catholic cantons

(Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Fribourg and Valais) united in a league called the Sonderbund (Separate League) for the protection of their sovereignty and their territories. At the Diets of August 1846, and July 1847, the majority of the cantons decided that this League should be dissolved because it was not compatible with the Pact of 1815. At the same time they determined to revise the Constitution and to expel the Jesuits from the Confederation. This issue concerning state rights led, as in the United States of America, to a civil war in which the Catholic cantons were quickly defeated—fortunately without much bloodshed. The Jesuits were thereupon driven out and about fifty monasteries and religious foundations were suppressed.

On September 12 1848, the new Constitution of the Confederation was enacted and accepted by general consent. As amended by the subsequent Constitution of 1874 it still remains in force. It may be revised at any time by federal legislation confirmed by referendum or, on the initiative of 50,000 voters, by a direct popular vote showing a majority not only of the total electorate but of the individual cantons. Under the Constitution the Federal Government is supreme in all questions concerning peace and war, treaties, defence, railways, post office, coinage, banking and weights and measures. The legislative power of the Federal Parliament covers the law relating to copyright, bankruptcy, patents and public health. It also supervises and finances the administration of public works, justice and higher education from indirect taxation. It consists of two chambers : the *Ständerat* or Council of States of 44 members —two from each canton, the method of election varying in each ; and the *Nationalrat* or National Council of 194 members elected by direct election for a period of four years in the proportion of one deputy for every 22,000 souls. The last election to the National Council, which took place on 26 October 1947, resulted in the return of 52 Radicals, 48 Social Democrats, 44 Catholic Conservatives, 21 Peasant Party, 9 Liberal Socialists, 7 Liberals, 7 Communists, 5 Democrats and 1 Independent. The present constitution of the Council of States, elected in December 1947, is 18 Catholic Conservatives, 11 Radicals, 5 Socialists, 4 Peasant Party, 2 Liberals, 2 Democrats and 2 Independents. Each member of parliament is paid £2 7s. 6d. a day when, but only when, he attends. Voting is secret and, therefore, is not necessarily on party lines. The parties do not sit together as a *bloc*, which helps them to cultivate a national rather than a party attitude. The sessions are short and businesslike, lasting about four months in each year for a period of a month each. Mr. Fyfe ruefully records that the meetings start at 8.30 a.m. ! Everyone over 21 has a vote and any voter, other than a clergyman, can be elected a deputy. When both Chambers sit together as the *Bundes-Versammlung* or General Assembly they represent the supreme government of the Republic. Both branches of the legislature have equal power and, if they disagree, they

hold a joint session in which a majority decides the issue. 30,000 citizens or 8 cantons may demand a referendum on any legislation.

The chief executive authority resides in the *Bundesrat* or Federal Council of 7 members elected by the Federal Assembly for four years. This council is invariably composed of representatives from each of the large parties and is in fact a microcosm of parliament itself rather than a party government of the British and Irish variety. Ministers act like directors of a company of which the citizens are shareholders. The Council does not resign or ask for a general election if its proposals are defeated in parliament or on a referendum. It merely passes on to the next business. Its members cannot hold any other office or engage in any calling or business during their term of office. Every voter is eligible for election to the Council whether he is a member of parliament or not. The President and Vice-President of the Council are elected annually by the Federal Assembly and are not eligible for re-election till the expiration of one year from the end of their previous term of office. The President is in effect only the Chairman of the Cabinet. He has no special power or prominence, no aides de camp, no guards of honour, no palatial abode. His salary is £1,750 a year. Apart from acting as Chairman of the Executive his only official duties are to give an occasional radio address and receive the diplomatic corps. He is in short merely the First Citizen in a country which does not believe in clothing any individual with excessive power or pomp. It has long been the wise practice to alternate the office of President between the different cantons. Last year for instance the President was Signor Enrico Celio, an Italian-speaking Catholic Conservative from the canton of Ticino ; this year he is Herr Ernst Nobs, a German-speaking Socialist aged 62 from Zurich. It is almost as if an Irish speaker from Dingle was succeeded by an Orangeman from Portadown as President-Prime Minister of Ireland. Herr Nobs is the first Socialist to be elected President. Berne was chosen as the capital because of its geographical position between the French and German speaking districts. Each canton is sovereign save so far as its powers are restricted by the Constitution, and each has its own individual form of local government. In some of the smaller cantons the people exercise the powers of government by direct voting at open-air meetings. At these gatherings local laws are made and administrators appointed.

The powers of the cantonal councils have long been a subject of controversy, especially as regards taxation. During the Second World War special direct taxation for defence purposes had to be imposed by the Federal Government, although such taxation was formerly reserved to the cantons. It is still in force. Disputes between the cantons and the federal government, or between canton and canton, or canton and individuals, are dealt with by the Federal Tribunal or Supreme Court. This sits at Berne and consists of 26 judges appointed by the Federal

Assembly for a period of six years. They are eligible for re-election and invariably are re-elected. The Supreme Court is also the Court of Appeal against the decisions of federal or cantonal authorities in the domain of administrative law. Switzerland has been conservative as regards social legislation : compulsory old-age and widows and widowers pensions only came into force a year ago. The Swiss are naturally a phlegmatic people. They are not moved by catchwords or emotional outbursts. They make frequent use of the Referendum and the Initiative to decide vital issues. Old-age pensions, for instance, were enacted as the result of an Initiative in 1947. In this matter the legislature had lagged behind the electorate. Proportional Representation was also adopted by Referendum in 1920, having been previously twice rejected.

So much for the historical background and the machinery of government. Let us now examine briefly the essential economic facts. In December 1941, when the last census was taken, Switzerland had a population of 4,265,703, an average of 268 inhabitants per square mile. Of its 26 cantons 19 were German-speaking, 5 French, 1 Italian and 1 Romansch. The language difficulty is sensibly settled by recognising all four languages as national. The figures for the various languages in 1941 were : German-speaking, 3,097,060 ; French, 884,669 ; Italian, 220,530 ; Romansch, 46,456 ; and others 16,998. Emigrants from Switzerland in 1946 totalled 1,839 ; foreign tourists, 1,224,625. While absolute liberty of conscience is guaranteed by the Constitution, the Jesuit Order and its affiliated societies are forbidden to enter any part of Switzerland, and all functions clerical and scholastic are denied to its members. This interdiction can be extended to any other religious orders whose action is held to be dangerous to the State or likely to create religious discord. The foundation of new orders or convents is forbidden. Protestants total 2,457,242 or 58% of the population ; Catholics, 1,724,205 or 40%, and Jews, 19,429 or 0.5%. There is a Protestant majority in 12 cantons and a Catholic in 10.

Switzerland has an agricultural population of 866,720 but 22.5% of the country is barren and unproductive. Of the productive areas roughly one-third is forest, one-third grass or pasture, and one-third arable. The chief agricultural industry is the manufacture of cheese and butter. Industrial workers number 1,285,419 and one-tenth of the 10,000 factories are engaged in the manufacture of watches and clocks. In 1947 imports were valued at £277,809,800, while exports totalled £188,299,720. In 1946 the national revenue amounted to £128,001,100 and expenditure to £123,350,230. The public debt in January, 1947, was £501,596,660. Alone amongst European currencies the Swiss gold franc can look the dollar firmly in the face. At present Switzerland is still enjoying a period of prosperity. Statistics show, however, that the peak was reached in 1948. Moreover, even under the most favourable

circumstances, a further increase of prosperity is impossible as productive capacity and labour are in general fully employed. The disequilibrium in the balance of payments and international currency coupled with the tense state of international relations have resulted in a contraction of foreign trade. Such a state of affairs must affect Switzerland adversely sooner or later, for her economy is closely dependent on those of other countries.

Swiss neutrality is, as we have seen, the result of international guarantee, international rivalry and lucky chance ; but it also rests firmly on the determination of the Swiss people to defend their country. The Swiss are, in the best sense, a nation in arms. From 20 to 60 every able-bodied man, regardless of class or occupation, is liable to military service and, at least until he is 40, must spend a short time each year in military training. When fully mobilised the Swiss army can thus muster 720,000 well-trained soldiers. The Swiss claim with truth that their army has never degenerated into militarism and that the short periods they have to spend under arms, while not dislocating civil life, teach the people discipline, decent behaviour, punctuality, orderliness and comradeship

Mr. Fyfe's excellent little book presents a ' close-up ' of the Swiss people as they are to-day. He found them hard workers and early risers. In proportion to their population they have a larger foreign trade than any country. The hotel business, contrary to popular belief, is by no means their main industry ; it comes only fifth on the list. Their chief exports are watches and clocks, chemical products, machinery, textiles and chocolate. Their farming is mostly ' mixed ' and the toil continuous. Unlike us they understand the importance of growing and selling fine vegetables. No Swiss town of the size of Tralee would be without its vegetable shop. As in most countries the number of the civil service has increased during the war. Like the inhabitants of most cold countries the Swiss are fond of strong drink, sometimes with serious results. Divorce is rampant and can be easily obtained ; incompatibility of temper and use of abusive language being accepted as valid reasons for dissolving a marriage. In the large towns one out of every six marriages ends in disaster.

Toleration, Mr. Fyfe claims, lies at the root of the Swiss character, as it is formed by educational and social life, and to some extent also by necessity. A people with four different languages and several diverse cultures must be tolerant if they desire to live peacefully together, or even to survive. The French Catholic peasant moralist, M. Gustave Thibon, has wisely written : " Admittedly man is not made for solitude. But neither is he made for multitude. *Miseror super turbam.* Man is made to live in small groups, beginning with the family and the local community and extending to the fellowships that arise normally from participation in a common undertaking or from following the same craft. These groups alone are capable of putting him in the way of fulfilling his self and of con-

necting him successfully with vaster organisms."[1] The Swiss, girt by their mountains, have found in large part this fulfilment. They agree with Acton's aphorism that ' all power corrupts,' and they have applied it in their simple public life. Under the pressure of tremendous events they must now re-adjust their attitude to the outside world. Napoleon taught them their neutrality was no barrier against a continental conqueror. Stalin now knocks upon their door and M. Robert Schumann, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, has just reminded them (January 16) that Switzerland must place her confidence in those who are undertaking through European Union a last effort to preserve the peace of the world. The idea of multiple organic solidarity, inherent in the plans for the political and economic union of Europe, is an extension of the Swiss political structure to wider fields. Professor François Perroux, an eminent member of the Faculté de Droit of Paris, has recently reminded us that : " American capital and the British Commonwealth are the two bases of world reconstruction " and that the Marshall Plan is the beginning of " the greatest economic enterprise directed on a world-scale which has ever been attempted".[2] In that great project of integrated economy, upon the success of which depends the future of European civilisation, Switzerland must play her part ; for she belongs, in every fibre of her intensely democratic being, to the West. She cannot ignore the strategic implications of such a course nor can she bargain for special consideration. For us also ' the bell tolls '. We too must decide quickly where we stand on an issue which admits of neither bargain nor compromise.

There are other lessons to be learned from the Swiss story. The example of hard work, domestic unity and public austerity which Switzerland has given to the world are of particular application in our own case. National unity she teaches us, whether domestic or external, can only be achieved when toleration is allied with common sense, power controlled by patriotism, shibboleths subordinated to reality. One thing is clear : the policy of *Sinn Féin* (' ourselves alone ') is no longer possible, even if it were desirable, for Ireland or for Switzerland. The Report of the German Naval Staff, made at the end of 1940, on the invasion of Ireland[3] establishes beyond doubt that only British naval power stood between us and invasion in the Second World War. The new threat is more formidable and of a different kind. Western Europe must unite or perish, for it was never more true to say that " we are members one of another". Based on an Atlantic Alliance, in which the United States of America is prepared to take part, Europe can regain its spirit and its integrity. That is perhaps the most important lesson to be learnt from the history of the Swiss Confederation.

JOHN J. HORGAN

[1] *What ails Mankind ?* By G. Thibon (Translated) Sheed and Ward, New York.
[2] *Le Plan Marshall, ou l'Europe nécessaire au Monde* by François Perroux.
[3] *Hitler and his Admirals* by Anthony Martienssen, p. 250.

VIOLATION OF SANCTUARY

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

IRELAND'S first Bird Sanctuary is threatened with a premature and ignoble end. Sentence has been pronounced on it without, as many hold, having got a fair trial; it awaits its fate. In the hope that it may yet be reprieved by those who have the power, I give this short account of the North Bull Island, of how it came to be a most promising Bird Sanctuary and of how, before it had reached its full stature, it has been summarily doomed to destruction.

I

The North Bull Island, situated on the north side of Dublin Bay and running along the north-west coast from Dollymount to Sutton, is some four miles from the centre of Dublin City. It is a low-lying, sandy island about three miles long and a little more than half a mile wide, terminating in the form of a recurved spit towards the north-east. A tidal channel of considerable breadth separates the island from the mainland at high water, giving place to extensive mud-flats at low tide. But there is always a narrow channel which is fed by a few small streams on the Dollymount shore. A wooden bridge about 200 yards long connects the south-west end of the island with the mainland, and as a continuation of the bridge the North Bull Wall runs across the mouth of the Liffey for about two miles in the direction of the Poolbeg Lighthouse which terminates the South Wall. The only buildings on the island are the cottages just across the bridge, formerly occupied by coast-guards; the temporary buildings of the Royal Dublin Golf Club, whose stately club-house was accidentally burned down on August 2nd, 1943; the stables, once the home of a family named Curley, from whom "Curley's Hole," the danger spot on the beach opposite, is said to have derived its name; and St. Anne's Golf Club, half way between the Bull Wall and the Sutton end.

Geologists are proverbially lavish with years and generally speak in millions when estimating the years that have elapsed since some island of sea began to lead an independent existence. But even geologists, from the evidence at hand, cannot well allow more than a century and a half to the very youthful North Bull Island. In the old maps of Dublin Bay before the year 1775, there was no North Bull Island, though Dalkey Island and Clontarf Island were clearly indicated. The place where now our island stands was marked as a sandbank, exposed only at low tide and devoid of vegetation. The first map which shows the island was Cowan's, in the year 1800, where it is marked as a small dry area on the submerged sandbank. In the Report of the Tidal Harbours' Commission

of 1805 on *The Improvements of Dublin Harbour* there occurs the statement: "Since the building of the South Pier, about the year 1790, a considerable strip of the North Bull remains dry at high water and has on it a growth of marine plants." Hence it is concluded that the origin of the island was due to the effects of the South Wall in changing the currents and in silting up the North Bull sandbank. By the year 1823, when the North Bull Wall was completed after three years of construction, the island was a mile and thirty chains long. The object of this second pier was to increase the force of the ebbing tide by confining it in narrower limits and thus render the Liffey channel to a certain extent self-dredging. This result has apparently been achieved.

It is of historical interest that, before the final decision was taken to build the North Bull Wall in its present form, various other schemes were submitted and considered. One was to abandon the Liffey as a harbour, except for small craft, and to construct a Ship Canal from Dunleary to Ringsend for larger vessels. In 1801 Captain Bligh (of the *Bounty* fame) was asked to submit a report for the improvement of Dublin Harbour. His plan was that a second pier, parallel to the South Wall, should be built from the North Wall as far as Poolbeg Lighthouse. Sir John Ritchie submitted a plan of a wall from Dollymount towards Poolbeg with an extension at a wide angle running out to sea for some distance. The scheme finally decided on was a modification of Ritchie's, without the angled extension, and in 1820 it was entrusted to the engineers, Giles and Halpin, for execution. Since the completion of this wall the island has continued to grow. Between the years 1819 and 1907 the area above high water increased from 111 to 615 acres. During the years of growth there appeared one larger island, called the Bull, and several smaller ones, known as the Bull Calves. These several islands have since united to form one continuous whole. As late as the seventies of the last century there was an island at the Sutton end, known as Green Island, which was separated from the main island by a tidal channel. This channel gradually closed up, the last parts disappearing between the years 1915 and 1919, when the island was under military control and the public excluded. The area above high water is still increasing, though since 1902 the length of the island has remained constant. Nor is the length likely to change much, as it is controlled by the Bull Wall at the south-west and by the action of the tidal scour of Sutton Creek at the north-east end. But the growth along the whole length of the south-eastern shoreline is very noticeable. In 1930 a water main was laid down just above the high water mark, with drinking fountains at regular intervals, from the Bull Wall for about half the length of the island. These fountains are now in among the sandhills some 60 yards from the high water shoreline. Roughly then the island is extending seawards at the rate of 3 yards a year.

Before the appearance of dry land on the North Bull the birds, we are told, rested in great numbers and awaited the turn of the tide on Clontarf Island, which was about two miles nearer the city. Formerly this island, though measuring only 400 yards long by 40 wide and rising 16 feet above high water, was a conspicuous sight from the road to Dollymount. But now no vestige of an island is to be seen there. In the last quarter of the last century, when concrete came into more general use, builders bought the island for the gravel and sand of which it was wholly composed. They carted away these materials at low tide and used barges as the water rose until the island had completely disappeared. It was fortunate for the birds that, although man caused the disappearance of this island, he had by a previous intervention led to the formation of another and larger one, more suitably situated near their feeding grounds.

II

In former days there were certain privileged places where Kings' writs did not run, where men took refuge in order to escape the vengeance of the law or of their private enemies and where they were inviolable—in some cases for a definite period ; in others, as long as they remained within the sacred precincts. This right of sanctuary or asylum was recognized by the religious and civil authorities, and to violate it was regarded as a sacrilege and profanation. It was a convention of very ancient origin and it survived until comparatively recent times. But by the end of the eighteenth century, in Europe generally, the right of sanctuary for hunted man had completely disappeared. Now from the early years of the present century this old meaning of sanctuary has been revived to designate certain places where birds may enjoy freedom from persecution not only during the close season, but at all seasons.

Not that Bird Sanctuaries were hitherto unknown, but they were not so named. Generally, however, they owed their origin and existence to private enterprise and ceased with the life of the person who had established and maintained them. In the last century Charles Waterton, author of the well-known book *Wanderings in South America*, turned his estate at Walton Hall, Yorkshire, into a reservation for birds. He walled in his property at great expense ; no bird was shot nor otherwise molested; nesting facilities were afforded and in severe weather food was provided. That was an ideal Bird Sanctuary. For in every Sanctuary these three conditions are necessary : adequate protection, abundant nesting facilities, an accessible food supply.

But Bird Sanctuaries established at the public expense and under the control of the state or of some society are of recent institution. At the beginning of the present century reservations for birds under state control were established in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Holland.

But it was not until after the first Great War that attention was turned to the subject in England. Since 1921, however, Bird Sanctuaries have been set up in almost all the Public Parks of London and in various places up and down the country. In 1923 the Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the Lake District presented 1500 acres of mountain landscape as a War Memorial to the National Trust for a Bird Sanctuary. Lord Leconfield gave the adjoining Scafell Pike to the nation for the same purpose. In 1927, 400 acres of the Norfolk Broads were purchased for a Sanctuary, and in 1930 Romney Marsh, Kent, was secured by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. The movement, stimulated by public opinion and backed by private generosity, has of late years gathered speed in England. Where areas of special beauty or of interest to naturalists are threatened by commercial development, they are generally secured for the nation as Nature Reserves, and their legal right to be left unspoiled is never afterwards questioned.

Before 1930 we had no Bird Sanctuary in Ireland. Perhaps the nearest approach to one was Lambay Island, where for many years the nesting birds had been protected. The Skelligs, too, off the coast of Kerry, owing to their inaccessibility, were natural Bird Sanctuaries where large numbers of Gannet and other sea fowl found a safe refuge. But we had no Bird Sanctuary proper, nor had we any legal machinery for the setting up of reservations. For many years Irish naturalists had been watching the progress made in most of the European countries and in America, while they themselves were powerless to keep up with modern methods of bird study and bird protection. In England there were flourishing Natural History Societies and the National Trust; on the continent the various states were alive to the advantages of bird reservations; in America there were National Parks. On all sides it was recognized that Bird Sanctuaries afforded the best means of studying the habits and migrations of birds and of saving threatened species from extermination.

III

At last in 1930 an opportunity came, when a bill for the Protection of Birds was being introduced, and at my suggestion the late Senator S. Brown, S.C., who was supervising the drafting of the bill and was to initiate it in the Senate, inserted a clause for the establishment of reservations for birds. The bill having been passed first by the Senate and then by the Dail, it became legally possible to have Bird Sanctuaries in the 26 Counties. The next question was to select a suitable area. Many places suggested themselves, but for various reasons the North Bull Island at Dollymount was chosen. It was an open space where birds, except for week-end shooting, enjoyed a reasonable amount of seclusion. It was in fact an area particularly rich in bird life, not only in the huge numbers in the flocks of ducks and waders but in the great variety of

species. Ornithologists had long regarded it as one of the best bird-resorts in Ireland. Watters, whose book *The Natural History of Ireland* was published in 1853, often mentions the North Bull. Several well-known naturalists, among whom one recalls the great names of Dr. Cox, Richard Barrington, the three brothers, Edward, Alexander and William Williams, C. B. Moffat and Dr. Patten, have left on record in the pages of *The Irish Naturalist* and other periodicals many interesting accounts of rare birds seen on the island. And since the time of these records, just as the area has gone on increasing, so it has become a more favourite resort for birds. The disappearance of Clontarf Island and the considerable reduction in size of the Shelly Bank on the south side of the Liffey have led to the concentration of the birds on the North Bull. Besides, since the beginning of the century the stricter protection of birds both on the continent and in England have materially affected the number of birds that come to winter here. The island with good reason has been regarded as a point of arrival of migrants from over-seas and as a sort of a clearing house, especially for duck and snipe, before they disperse inland.

The two chief attractions for birds at Dollymount are an abundant food supply and, during high water when most of their feeding grounds are covered, an extensive stand on which to await the turn of the tide. There are four types of feeding ground in the area. First on the seaward side, there is the long stretch of level strand, upwards of half a mile wide at low tide, extending from the Bull Wall to Sutton Creek. Next to the strand and parallel to it, are lines of sand dunes covered with marram grass and in places over thirty feet high. Then, inside the sand dunes are the grassy flats used by the Golf Clubs. And lastly comes the extensive salt marsh between the golf courses and the tidal channel now popularly known as the Blue Lagoon. This channel itself is, at low tide, a great expanse of mud on which many birds both rest and feed. All these feeding grounds have their own characteristic birds. Suffice it here to say that up to 1930 about 130 different species of birds had been observed on the island. No doubt others had come unobserved, and it was felt by the promoters of the Sanctuary that if the North Bull were subjected to the intensive watching carried out at, say, Scolt Head in Norfolk, it too would furnish a long list of rare and interesting birds.

But the reason which outweighed all others for the choice of the North Bull was the educational and cultural value of having a Bird Sanctuary so near to the city of Dublin with its schools, colleges and Universities. Nature Study is an important part of education, and teachers could take their pupils either in groups or classes to study wild birds and their habits at close quarters. The well-known fact that birds quickly recognise the absence of danger makes this possible. Birds know the difference between a man with a gun and a man with a pair of field glasses ;

where there is no shooting they are not easily frightened. Then it was regretfully admitted that Ireland had lagged behind other countries in Nature Study, perhaps most of all in Ornithology. Close to many of the Universities in England, on the continent and in America are Nature Reserves, often with Bird Observatories, where students have facilities and are encouraged to do research work. Here at Dollymount, almost at the doors of our Universities, would be opportunities for students to tackle some of the many bird problems which still remain unsolved.

IV

The procedure laid down in Sect. 2, Subsect. 3 of the 1930 Act is that the application for a Bird Sanctuary should come from the County or Borough Council and be forwarded to the Minister for Justice for his ratification. Accordingly the promoters of the scheme interviewed the members of the Dublin County Council and were promised support by the great majority. But then a further difficulty arose, for just at that time the Greater Dublin Bill was passed and Dollymount came within the jurisdiction of the Dublin Corporation. The members of that body were found to be much less favourable to the proposal, but after much discussion they finally approved and sent the application to the Minister for Justice. The Order was signed by the Minister in July, 1931, and the North Bull became the first Bird Sanctuary legally established in Ireland. There was great jubilation among all naturalists, as it was fondly imagined that this small area at Dollymount, with its legal sanction, was now sacred and inviolable for evermore.

In consequence of the new legal status of the island all shooting, bird-catching and taking of eggs are prohibited and the birds enjoy close-time conditions throughout the year. The effects were soon apparent. The extraordinary tameness of the birds that now frequented the area in ever increasing numbers surpassed even the hopes of the sponsors of the Sanctuary. Duck of many species, which in other places are approached only by the aid of the utmost strategy, could now be watched at close range. The same was true of Brent Geese and of waders of many kinds. Bird-watching became more regular and intensive, and since 1931 upwards of a dozen new species have been added to the previous list. It has been of frequent occurrence to find groups of boys in charge of a master from Belvedere College and other Dublin Schools watching birds with field glasses. The Bird Group of the Dublin Naturalists' Field Club, under a competent leader, has regular outings to the island. Foreign ornithologists who have visited the Sanctuary have been much impressed by the fine show of birds, but they invariably express their wonder why the possibilities of the place for scientific ornithology have not been even partially exploited—as, they say, they would have been in their own countries. Generally these visitors suggest the erection of a

Bird Observatory with a bird-ringing station to further the knowledge of migration, the building of observation huts and shelters, such as are used on the Severn Estuary Reserve, and the judicious planting of trees and shrubs to attract the *Passerines* or perching birds.

These possibilities have not been overlooked ; but the promoters of the Sanctuary, from its early years, have had to fight a battle for its very existence. Indeed the public would seem to regard the battle as already lost and the Sanctuary as good as dead. For during the past two seasons there has been a good deal of shooting over the Blue Lagoon, which is at least against the spirit of the law, and even *on* the island, which is assuredly against its letter. The inevitable result is that the birds have again become shy and wary, and watchers complain that they cannot get near enough to see them even with field glasses. This is all very sad, as hitherto the Sanctuary was so successful in supplying all the advantages for which it was established. And yet these infringements of the law constitute only a temporary set-back to the well-being of the Sanctuary, but the various plans propounded since 1931 for the development and urbanisation of the island threaten its very life.

V

The first of these plans was put forward in the early years of the Sanctuary and was known as " The Blue Lagoon Scheme". It provided for a dam at both ends connecting the island with the mainland and forming a permanent lake. The island was to be commercially developed as an amusement centre on lines suggestive of a Lido or a Blackpool. This scheme held the field for several years, but fortunately it was dropped —not for the many protests that were voiced against it, but because it was found to be impracticable.

Then early in May 1944, the Golf Clubs were informed that the Irish Tourist Board had taken control of the island and were preparing plans for its development as a tourist resort. The Royal Dublin Golf Club got notice to be ready to leave their clubhouse as the site happened to be within the area of the proposed amusements park. The Irish Society for the Protection of Birds, becoming alarmed for the fate of the Sanctuary, asked the Tourist Board what their plans were. No answer was received to this and further similar requests. The only information the Society got was what was published in the Dublin newspapers, and that was not pleasant reading.

In November and December 1945, maps of the island with the proposed plans were published showing, among other things, the positions of a Cinema, a Dance Hall and a Restaurant near the Bull Wall, and a Bus road running down the island for more than half its length. At the end of this road there was another Dance Hall among the sandhills. Perhaps the most obnoxious item was contained in the statement in the letterpress :

" It is proposed to let sites for the development of private enterprise " (*Irish Independent*, 4th November 1945). Thus the door is left open for the speculative builder, for hideous campers' huts, such as in recent years have disfigured the landscape at Portmarnock, and for goodness knows what other atrocities. Our most recent news has been from the *Irish Times*, 7th November 1946, when it reports : " The City Manager's proposals provide for an embankment and bridge linking the island with the mainland at the Dollymount end ; the development of 86 acres of the Bull Wall end of the island, which would include the provision of restaurant, dance hall, an open air theatre, amusement park and various other amenities, and the construction of a road along the north front of the Bull Island for vehicular traffic and for convenient access to various parts of the island at present inaccessible. Negotiations will have to be entered into with the Royal Dublin Golf Club for ground that will be required. He estimated that the cost of the work on the island will be approximately £200,000, without the cost of land acquisition."

These plans speak for themselves and show how utterly the Sanctuary is to be destroyed. It is true that in the plans a small portion at the Sutton end of the island has been assigned as a Bird Sanctuary, as if birds were like " displaced persons " who have to go where they are sent and stay where they are put. What hope is there that any birds will remain when their main resting and feeding grounds have been exploited and built on. Knowing the capricious nature of birds and how sensitive they are to even slight changes in environment, I see no hope whatsoever.

VI

On 9th February 1942, the following resolution was unanimously passed by the Dublin Naturalists' Field Club : " That the North Bull Island, which is already a recreation ground and a Nature Reserve, unique apart from its proximity to the city, should not be turned into an artificial playground of doubtful utility." In putting the resolution as President of the year I said : " One of the objects of our Club is the preservation of the natural beauty of the countryside as well as the protection of rare native species of fauna and flora. Now the projected developments at Dollymount, if carried into execution, will certainly mar the beauty of the North Bull Island and drive far away from Co. Dublin, and perhaps from our country, the numerous flocks of wild birds which find a haven of rest in our Bird Sanctuary. It would be a crying shame if this ideal Sanctuary were destroyed and if we, as naturalists, were to allow such vandalism to pass without a protest . . . There is no place on our coast from Fair Head to Carnsore Point that can take the place of the North Bull, which is unique in this country, while comparing favourably with such famous bird resorts as Scolt Head in Norfolk and Texel in Holland. We are not opposed to playgrounds, amusement parks and marine lakes as such ;

but while there are alternative sites available, we emphatically object to a recreation centre at the one small place on our coast where, for cultural, educational and aesthetic reasons, a Bird Sanctuary has been established."

In the discussion at the meeting the various points of the resolution were developed and clarified. The island is already a natural recreation ground providing many attractions which are so much more elevating than any that are merely artificial. It is largely used by members of every class of the community for a peaceful retreat into solitude from the noise of what has been called " a mechanical age". At the week-ends workmen bring their families for a few hours in the open. I once met a solitary man who was watching the birds, but I soon found out that he did not " know a hawk from a hand-saw". He told me that his job was operating an electric drill on the streets of Dublin and that on Saturday afternoons he came to the North Bull to watch the manœuvres of the flocks of birds in flight and to be soothed by the soft music of the sea. That, he said, compensated for a week of deafening noise. Then the Golf Clubs, while catering for the recreation of their many members and providing more employment than arable farms of the same acreage, harmonize wonderfully with the amenities of the Sanctuary. The birds freely use the courses as feeding and nesting grounds. They are not molested and hence show no fear of the players whom they apparently regard as quite harmless and silent people, intent only on their game.

The Sandymount Strand, on the south side of the Liffey, was suggested as an alternative site for an amusements centre. All that has been said for the Dollymount scheme might be said with equal force in favour of the Sandymount site, while from the natural history and national point of view there would be no corresponding loss. It has been shown by a competent Consulting Engineer (cf. *Studies*, March 1935) that the development of Sandymount Strand is a practical proposition. While the main contention of the proposal was that a square mile of the enclosed 1,400 acres should be reserved for an aerodrome, it was shown that there was ample room for a marine lake, a playground, an amusements park and even a housing area within the three mile sea-wall which would run from the Pigeon House to Blackrock. The area here proposed is nearer the city and is much more accessible and more extensive than the North Bull.

It is not yet too late to change the site, as no money has up to date been spent on the destruction of the Sanctuary. The Bull Island should be left untouched and should, I suggest, be handed over to the recently founded National Trust for Ireland. It was to save such places for future generations and for the nation that the Trust was inaugurated. Under its enlightened guardianship the island would become a national centre of educational and cultural interest of which all Irishmen could be proud.

P. G. Kennedy

BLACK EAGLE OF THE NORTH

THE STORY OF ARCHDEACON JOHN MURPHY

BY PROFESSOR B. G. MAC CARTHY, M.A., PH.D.
University College, Cork

SIXTY-SIX years ago on 10th March 1883, Archdeacon John James Murphy died in the city of his birth, Cork. Within his lifetime he had become a legendary figure, but now the years have silted over even the most outstanding events of his varied and unusual career. John Murphy is reputed to have been in turn a midshipman at the battle of Trafalgar, an officer in the Royal Navy, a merchant, a fur-trader in Canada, an Indian chief. Then he became a priest, ministering during the famine to the afflicted people of West Cork; and finally we see him as Archdeacon of his native city. Excepting the period which followed his ordination as a priest, almost every other phase of his life offers conflicting evidence. The intending biographer may simplify his task by choosing, amid contradictory dates and statements, a definite series which he may present as authentic; or he may find it more valuable, however perplexing, to offer all those curious accretions of testimony and allow the reader to find his own interpretation. The second course appears the more desirable because, where so much is in doubt, a choice of facts must be arbitrary—and because it leaves open the field of inquiry for some more fortunate investigator.

The cogent sources of information as to Father John Murphy are few and conflicting. They are as follows :—

(*a*) Notes by Colonel Hickie of Slievoyre (a nephew).
(*b*) Manuscript account by Miss Kate Donovan (a niece).
(*c*) An article in the "Little Flower Monthly," January 1932, by General Sir William Hickie (a grand-nephew).
(*d*) Extracts from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, obtained by Mr. C. W. Murphy of Waterville.[1]
(*e*) An article by Canon Keily in the "SS. Peter and Paul's Parish Magazine" (Cork), July and October 1936.

Other accounts which have been consulted are largely derivative.

The date of John Murphy's birth is variously given.[2] Since the most

[1] I wish to acknowledge gratefully my indebtedness to Mr. C. W. Murphy of Waterville who has so generously placed at my disposal the family documents which relate to Father John Murphy.

The extracts from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company are, with the permission of the Governor and the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, here published for the first time.

[2] General Hickie gives the date as 1790; Colonel Hickie of Slievoyre as 1795; Miss Kate Donovan as 1796; the "SS. Peter and Paul's Parish Magazine" as 23 December 1796; the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company as "about 1797". Since the last mentioned date was, no doubt, obtained from John Murphy himself, when he entered the service of the Company, and since it agrees roughly with the majority of the dates suggested, we may surely assume that John Murphy was born in 1796.

likely date appears to be 1796, we have assumed that date to be correct. He was the second eldest son of James Murphy of Ringmahon, Cork. Through the Penal Laws the Murphy family had been dispossessed of their lands at Cloghroe, and had come to Cork to wrest a living out of commercial enterprise. By their energy, foresight and integrity they had won for themselves wealth and unquestioned standing. At the opening of the nineteenth century each branch of the family was established securely. James Murphy of Ringmahon could, as a rich distiller, obtain for his sons an excellent education. So it was that John Murphy was sent to Sedgeley Park, Wolverhampton, a Catholic school founded by Bishop Challoner. At Cotton College, North Staffordshire, is now preserved a complete list of the students of Sedgeley Park. This list establishes the fact that in 1804 one John Murphy arrived in Sedgeley Park (and James and William in 1807). If we accept that this is our John Murphy and that he was born in 1796, he would then have been eight years old. It is strange that the History of Sedgeley Park and the more recent *History of Cotton College* (Burns and Oates, 1940) omit all mention of this remarkable alumnus. There remains the possibility that some reference to John Murphy is to be found in the MS. history of Sedgeley Park. A personal investigation of this point has not been possible for the present writer, who is much indebted to Rev. J. W. Dunne, Headmaster of Cotton College, for the information given above.

Of John Murphy's schooldays nothing is, therefore, known, except the manner of his first journey to England. Committed to the care of the Captain, he embarked at the Coal Quay on one of his father's schooners, "The Mary and Betsy". When, on Sunday morning, the ship reached Liverpool, the captain and his wife, who were devout Presbyterians, wished to attend their conventicle in Scotland Row. They saw no harm in taking the Catholic boy with them. The child wondered at the deep tones of the organ and was lost in admiration of the minister's lawn sleeves. He forgot the strange service, which he could not understand, but he never forgot that church. In fact, many years later, he returned to buy the building so that it might serve as a Catholic chapel for the poor Irish of the Liverpool dock-side.

The archives of Sedgeley Park do not state when John Murphy left that school. It is generally supposed that he remained some four years. Miss Kate Donovan states that he also attended Oscott during this period. If we accept four years as the duration of his schooling in England, he would then have been about twelve years. Some confusion exists as to the activities in which John Murphy now engaged. We are indebted to General Hickie for some vivid reminiscences of his grand-uncle. He recounts adventures which, when he was fifteen, he heard from Father John Murphy ; but, in some respects, these do not tally with the accounts given by other relatives. General Hickie says that John Murphy was a

midshipman on one of Nelson's ships at the battle of Trafalgar (in 1805). This seems unlikely. In 1805 John Murphy was about nine years old, and he had spent only one year at school in England. General Hickie continues: "Later on he rose to the rank of lieutenant in the Navy." Enquiry at the Admiralty elicits the fact that John Murphy did not serve in the Royal Navy. We learn from the Kate Donovan MS that he was a midshipman in the East India Company[1] and that his first voyage was to China on the "Charles Grant". If such a career seems a surprising choice, it must be remembered that the Murphy family had been the first to establish in Cork a direct tea trade with China. The voyage to the East would have taken some years. There may have been other voyages, since it is specifically called the first.

We do not know how long John Murphy remained with the East India Company. We know only that, in 1816, he became a clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. A clue as to this new departure may be found in the account given by General Hickie. Speaking of John Murphy as a lieutenant in the Navy, General Hickie states:—

> One evening, as he told himself, he had the misfortune to dine ashore, not wisely but too well, and for this misdemeanour he got into serious trouble and was dismissed his ship. He had a certain amount of money, and with it he set himself up in business in London. He was a very good-looking young man and had many friends, among whom was the wife of the Russian Ambassador.[2] She wishing to do him a good turn, told him that the British Government was about to put a heavy tax on imported Russian tallow. In those days candles were the chief source of evening light. John Murphy thought that he saw his way to wealth and fortune, and not only put all his own money into the speculation, but he persuaded his friends to do likewise. He bought every pound of tallow he could lay his hands on and made what is called in business circles a "corner" in that commodity. But the lady was wrong, no tax was imposed. John Murphy's vision of wealth vanished. He could not sell the enormous quantity he had collected, all his friends lost their money, and he himself was declared a bankrupt. Undaunted, though penniless, he sailed from Liverpool and joined the Hudson Bay Trading Company in Northern America.[3]

For an authentic account of John Murphy's activities while in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, we can rely on extracts from the archives of that Company obtained in 1936 by Mr. C. W. Murphy of Waterville. When John Murphy joined the Company in 1816 he would have been about twenty years of age. A letter, dated 31st July 1816, from Lord Selkirk (the founder of the Red River Colony) to Governor Thomas Vincent (who was in charge of the Company's posts in the Moose

[1] This statement is supported by a reference in the *Morning Star*, New Orleans, 7 November 1875.

[2] Colonel Hickie of Slievoyre says: "Tiring of the sea, he left the Service and went into business in London. He became one of the 'bucks' of those days and frequented all the best coffee-houses in London." The wife of the Russian Ambassador seems to have been the famous Princess Lieven.

[3] Colonel Hickie tells us that John Murphy's career in London was prosperous until the tallow venture; that when he became bankrupt he incurred his father's displeasure. One gathers that he also believed that John Murphy's bankruptcy was prior to the Hudson's Bay period.

Factory area) refers to the terms of Murphy's engagement and to his character :—

I take this opportunity of sending you your son, who came up from Montreal by the last canoe. I send also a young clerk of the name of Murphy, who has been engaged for the service of the Company by Mr. Auldjo of Montreal[1] ; as he is not well versed in the French Language, I think him more likely to be useful in your Department than in the North ; his wages are £30 the first year £40 and £50 afterwards. I understand that he has received advances, which must have nearly if not wholly exhausted his first year's salary ; he is totally without experience in the Fur Trade, but I think you will find him active, zealous and Intrepid ; he is rather inclined to be Wild and will be in the better of being under Strict Discipline, but I have observed many marks of good principles, and I am Confident he is disposed to act right if the line of his Duty be distinctly pointed out to him.

Murphy arrived at Moose Factory from Sault Ste. Marie on 6th September, after a journey which lasted more than five weeks. Four days afterwards he left for New Brunswick House, where he arrived one months later—i.e. 6th October. " House " is indeed a misleading term for what was in reality a fort. To realise the necessity of trading from a secure fortification we must remember that " Canada " at that time was a vast arena in which men were pitted against the forces of nature, against the climate and against each other. The rival fur trading companies opposed each other even with violence and were open to the constant attacks of the native Indians. Added to this, while Murphy was still with the Hudson's Bay Company, war broke out between England and America.

To hold one's own under such grim conditions one needed to have great courage and tremendous physical endurance. Murphy was now a man of well over six feet in height, of mighty frame and muscle. His strength, daring, honesty and unusual intelligence made him an invaluable servant of the Company. From the beginning he had to prove his mettle, since he seems always to have been chosen for the most hazardous tasks. Immediately on his first arrival at New Brunswick House he was sent to capture two men of the North West Trading Company who were wanted for robbery. It was then late autumn. None but an experienced woodsman, hunter and fighter could hope to survive in that wild and frozen land. Eleven days later Murphy captured one of the men. The other was made a prisoner elsewhere. On another occasion he was entrusted with the duty of bringing to justice a servant of the North West Company who had murdered one Owen Keveny, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company. An extract from Governor Thomas Vincent's New Brunswick House Memoranda shows the estimation in which Murphy was held throughout his entire period of service. A small party of men set out from New Brunswick House under orders to try and reach New York with important dispatches. Murphy was sent to accompany them

[1] Of the firm of Maitland, Garden & Auldjo, the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company in Montreal.

through the most dangerous part of the journey, that is as far as Sault Ste. Marie. Governor Vincent says: "I have been induced to send this officer with Mr. Carswell from his knowledge of the Route they are to pursue and from the confidence I have in his courage and discretion, in the event of any of the adherents of the North West Company attempting to molest them." Until the last years of his service with the Hudson's Bay Company, winter found Murphy always on the trail, carrying dispatches, fighting Indians, bringing provisions, making contact with trappers. In summer he was given charge of the trading fort at New Brunswick House. At the end of the trading season 1817–18, Charles McCormick (then in charge at New Brunswick House) reported of John Murphy: "He is a very steady, spirited and enterprising young man; bears privations and hardships with cheerfulness; and has conducted himself in every undertaking he had to perform with credit and satisfaction; whose exertions has much benefitted the General Concern; and is an officer who justly merits promotion."

It appears that the question of promotion was then in Murphy's mind. Since his contract with the Company would expire in March 1819, he obtained permission from Governor Vincent "to proceed to Montreal in order to interview the Company's agents with the object of obtaining a position in another department of the service where promotion would be more rapid." His mission was unsuccessful and he returned to the Southern Department, arriving at New Brunswick House on 26th November 1819. Four days later, on the instructions of Governor Vincent, Charles McCormick handed over the charge of the New Brunswick House district to John Murphy. The district remained in his charge until the end of the trading season 1820–21, and he remained at New Brunswick House except for short seasons when he had to leave the post in order to transact business concerning his district.

The final entry concerning Murphy in the Company's records is as follows:—

In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company were united and, owing to the paucity of records for the trading season 1821–22, it has not been possible to establish definitely where Murphy spent his last year of service. It would appear probable however that he still retained the charge of the New Brunswick district.

For some reason which we have been unable to trace, Murphy applied for leave of absence in the Summer of 1822 and, this being granted to him, he sailed for England from Moose Factory on board the Company's ship *Eddystone*—Captain Benjamin Bell—on 10th September 1822. It was evidently expected that he would return, as Thomas Vincent and other chief Factors of the Southern Department, writing to the Company in London from Moose Factory on 10th September 1822, stated: "Mr. Murphy, who is without exception the most intelligent Clerk in the Southern Department, We have felt it our duty to place at the head of the 1st Class of Clerks and we beg leave to recommend whenever vacancies may occur . . ."

Murphy did not, however, return to the Company's service, and the balance

of his funds in their hands was withdrawn and his account with them closed on 30th April 1823.

In effect, therefore, Murphy left the Hudson's Bay Company after roughly six and a half years, his name remaining on their books for another seven months. Why did he suddenly return to England? General Hickie tells us that it was so that he could pay fully all that he owed to those who had suffered by his bankruptcy; and he narrates an incident told him by his grand-uncle: "He told me that, when visiting one woman in London [one of his creditors], he asked her if she remembered a man named John Murphy. 'I have good reason to remember the scoundrel,' said she. 'Through him we have lost all our hard earned savings and my husband died of a broken heart.' My grand-uncle said to me: 'I hadn't the courage to tell her who I was, but I put her cheque of over £4,000 on the table and, saying 'John Murphy has directed me to hand you this money,' fled from the house".

Since Murphy's salary in the Hudson's Bay Company was very limited, one might ask how, while in that service, he amassed so large a fortune that he could repay his creditors on a scale so generous as that indicated by the cheque of £4,000 to one single person. Murphy's duties in the Company were so unremitting that one may doubt if he could have found the time and the opportunity to engage in trading for his own personal profit. The present writer knows nothing as to the bonuses or the outside profits which such a fur-trading Company might allow to an employee; so one can only suggest tentatively that such personal trading would scarcely be consonant with the interests of the Company and therefore certainly not consonant with Murphy's honour. It is evident also that Murphy was dissatisfied with his position in the Company. Had he been accumulating a large fortune, he would hardly have considered his position unsatisfactory. And yet, without riches, how could he have paid his creditors on his return to England?

If we turn to the Kate Donovan MS, we find a completely different account, both as to the time of his bankruptcy, the amount of his indebtedness and the sources from which he derived the money to pay his debts. The Kate Donovan MS states:—

> In the military service of the Company he spent nine [sic] years of his life, and at the end of that time he came to Liverpool and at once entered into commercial pursuits, in conjunction with one of his brothers, in that great "maritime emporium" and also in London. He was known as an honourable and distinguished merchant. While in London he was unfortunate in some very high speculations. He was obliged to make a compromise and immediately paid 10s. in the £. Afterwards, when in the priesthood, he inherited a princely endowment from his father—something like £30,000. None of it did he waste, but his first act was to seek out all his former creditors and reburse them to the full indebtedness, which amounted to three or four thousand pounds.

What was John Murphy doing between the years 1823 and 1839?

According to the Kate Donovan MS, he was engaged in commercial pursuits in Liverpool and London. According to General Hickie, after John Murphy had obtained leave from the Hudson's Bay Company and had paid his debts in England, he returned to the Hudson's Bay Company. As we know, it is certain that he did not return to the service of the Company. It is quite possible, however, that he returned to Canada as a purely personal enterprise. Speaking of this second period in Canada, General Hickie says: "Soon he became restless; and one day, with a party of trappers, he left the settlement and struck into the heart of the forest. While on the march he encountered a tribe of Indians, with whom he threw in his lot and wandered through the wilds of Canada for twelve years. Crowned with feathers, dressed in skins, and with a painted face, the Indians loved him. He was elected their chief and was known as 'The Black Eagle of the North'."

According to General Hickie, it was during this Indian phase that John Murphy suddenly decided to become a priest. In the following words, recorded by his grand-nephew, John Murphy narrated the event: "My mind was made up in a flash and, returning to the tribe, I washed off my war paint, discarded my feathers, dismissed my squaws and, returning to the Hudson Bay Company, I disposed of my possessions and sailed for Rome." This account is supported by the words of Colonel Hickie: "His taste for adventure led him to leave the Company and to join a tribe of Red Indians, who called him Black Eagle; and eventually, I believe, he became their chief, living their life and following their pursuits." Colonel Hickie's description of his uncle's sudden conversion agrees fully with that of General Hickie.

As a further proof that John Murphy's Indian phase was generally accepted as true, one may quote from an article which appeared in a New Orleans newspaper called the *Morning Star*, 7th November 1875. This article recorded the death (on 23rd October 1875) of the Rev. William Stack Murphy, S.J. The paper was edited and the article evidently written by a Mr. Scanlon, a Corkman. Scanlon was an old and close friend of Father Stack Murphy, and he appears to have had an intimate knowledge of the various branches of the Murphy family in Cork. In the course of his article, Scanlan refers to Father John Murphy thus:—

> The present Administrator, the Venerable John James Murphy, with his picturesque history, his wild youth as a midshipman in the East India Company's service, his career among the Hudson Bay Indians—dyed and feather-tufted until he looked more an Indian than the fierce savages whose avowed chieftain he was, his wonderful conversion and vocation, his sanctity so renowned that people say "Wherever his shadow falls, blessings multiply . . . .

If John Murphy did not gain his Indian title in the manner already indicated, how then did he obtain it? The Kate Donovan MS offers an alternative account:—

> The exigencies of his occupations here [i.e. as an officer of the Hudson's Bay

Company during the proven period of service] brought him in frequent contact with the North American Indians, and his adventures in the backwoods of North America furnish many interesting instances of the peculiar character which distinguished him through life. He possessed a wonderful muscular frame which impressed the Indians with deep admiration, while his kindly disposition won for him an affection which they rarely bestowed on one of his class and nation before. It is related of him that one time he went up one of the rivers in the Indian region in a canoe and got separated from the servants of the Company. On landing he was set upon by two fierce Indians. He knocked one of them insensible with a blow and, grappling with the other, quickly overpowered him and tied him at the bottom of the canoe. In triumph he rowed back to the fort of the settlement, when it was discovered that his prisoner was a great Indian chief who had given the pale faces much trouble. The captive chief, who expected to be tortured to death, was astonished at the kindly manner [sic] he received, particularly from his enlightened and powerful captor. After a short captivity amongst the white men, he was permitted to return to his own people, and he gave them such an account of the friendliness of the settlers that the tribe was ever afterwards steadfast friends with the white men. The Indians, excellent judges of character, distinguished John James Murphy from his associates as peculiarly their friend ; and as all their communications were made to him, it was deemed advisable that he should be put in command of the fort. To the Indians he was known as Keesha ma Geesha—i.e. The Black Eagle.

The obvious discrepancy between these two versions cannot be resolved. One must choose. The Kate Donovan MS bids us believe that John Murphy, having returned to England after his period with the Hudson's Bay Company, formed a business partnership with his brother, did not return to North America and, while still in England, determined to become a priest. The other witnesses offer a far more colourful and interesting possibility. We are free to believe it. Only one witness gives a contrary account. If we are guided by the number of witnesses, by the faith that legend contains its kernel of truth, we will believe it.

We come now to the time when John Murphy became conscious of a vocation for the priesthood. A man does not abruptly become a different person, but rather some facet of character which has always existed turns to the light. If we examine all that can be ascertained of John Murphy's life, we observe a whole and consistent personality chiefly marked by courage, uprightness, a reckless passion for adventure ; each element striving against the other, restlessly seeking an outlet, until at last this man sees how they may be co-ordinated and he finds within the strangest adventure of all. Two stories, which he himself recounted, serve to link fundamentally John Murphy of the Hudson Bay Company and Black Eagle of the Indian phase. We are told that during the Hudson's Bay period, year after year as Christmas approached, he used to journey hundreds of miles so that he might hear Mass on Christmas Day. After he had thrown in his lot with the Indians, he was one day drifting down-river in a canoe, when he saw smoke arising in a wood. He beached his canoe and approached to find a French Canadian priest who was travelling through the wilds alone. Murphy asked the priest if he could do anything for him. The priest replied that he needed only some flour from which

to make the sacramental particles of the Eucharist. Murphy insisted on giving the priest all the flour that he had with him. And so they parted ; but it is said that they met again long afterwards in Rome on the morning of Father Murphy's first Mass.

It is interesting to ask under what immediate circumstances John Murphy became aware of his vocation. Did this moment come in an English city to the man of business ? Or did Black Eagle, haloed with feathers, pause suddenly in a Canadian clearing, overtaken at last by destiny or the Hound of Heaven ? Alternate accounts exist, and once again we may choose. The Kate Donovan MS states that, in the midst of his commercial pursuits in England, he felt a strong call to enter religion ; that at first he wished to enter a monastery, but was advised by his confessor to become a secular priest. He wished to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, on his way to Jerusalem, visited Rome. Here he was introduced to the President of the English College, renounced his intended pilgrimage, and entered immediately on his theological studies. The opposed testimony is given in his own words : " Years passed by till there came a day when, wandering through the forest, I came on a clearing where, in the middle of a glade, stood a statue of Our Blessed Lady which had been put up by some Catholic French settlers. My mind was made up in a flash." And the account goes on to describe how he cast aside his Indian life and sailed for Rome. That he sailed direct to Rome without returning to England, one may doubt. According to General Hickie, John Murphy said that he was ordained after having studied for four years. The Kate Donovan MS contradicts itself on this point. It states that John Murphy was ordained in 1843 (a date confirmed by a computation of his years as a priest before he returned to Cork city). In 1843 John Murphy was forty-seven years of age. If his own statement is correctly reported, he began his studies four years previously—i.e. in 1839, when his age was forty-three. The Kate Donovan MS states that he began his studies at the age of forty—*i.e.* in 1836. If so, his preparation for the priesthood took seven years.

When John Murphy was ordained, his uncle, Dr. Murphy, was Bishop of Cork. Lest it might be thought that the Bishop favoured his own nephew, Father John Murphy went to Liverpool to become a curate at Copperas Hill. His work lay among the poor Irish, now more numerous than ever since famine raged in Ireland and forced many to seek a chance of life elsewhere. They brought with them the dreaded famine fever. Father John was to them a saviour and a friend. He sought them in slum and alley ; he gathered them around him. He determined that they should have a church. It seems that he had enough money to act at once. By an extraordinary coincidence the Presbyterian church which he remembered since childhood was now for sale. He bought it, and it was he who first celebrated Mass there.

When he had spent three years in Liverpool, his uncle Bishop Murphy died. Father Murphy was recalled to Cork by Bishop Delaney. He went gladly. He was appointed to Bandon, as Chaplain to the Union and to the Presentation Convent. It was now the year 1847—the year of the great famine. No Irishman needs to be told of the horrors of that time. Father John was like a soldier who hears the noise of battle and is forced to remain in the rear. There he was, walking the streets of Bandon in well-polished boots while in the more remote regions death and agony were everywhere. He wanted to be in the thick of it ; he wanted to help, to save the people ; he wanted to fight. After he had been a few months in Bandon, the Bishop, yielding to his request, sent him to Schull. For about a year and a half he lived in lodgings in Goleen. In that area the famine had done its worst, and it had brought in its train the evil of prosyletism. It happened that the local minister was also an extensive landowner, so that in his dual role of parson-cum-landlord he bore down upon the starving Catholics, who 'verted in great numbers. Nothing could stem the tide of prosyletism until the day when Father John appeared on the scene. He rode on a great black horse, and he had about him that air of command and authority that the poor people had long associated with the Ascendancy class. From that moment the tide turned. Father John rallied the people, fed them, received them back into their own religion. So that they might straighten their backs in the presence of their oppressor, he chose as the scene of this declaration of faith—the minister's gateway.

So ends the Schull period. Father John was recalled to Cork. He was appointed Administrator of the parish which centred around the old church in Carey's Lane. Here now stands the beautiful Church of SS. Peter and Paul. Designed by the younger Pugin, it owes its existence to the initiative and tireless exertions of Father Murphy. Almost immediately on his arrival in the parish, he undertook this new project and for ten years, in addition to his normal duties, he never ceased to work for the realisation of his scheme. One may say that this church was built through the personal efforts of Father John. He himself contributed large sums, and he collected with inexhaustible energy all over the city. Towards the close of 1865, when the church was almost completed, £18,000 had already been paid to the builder. There is an anecdote which casts light on Father Murphy's pertinacity. One day, while taking a walk with his sister, he dropped in on an undertaker called O'Leary to inquire why he had given nothing towards the new church. " Well," said O'Leary, " your family has never put any business in my way." " Measure me," said Father John ; and then, calling his sister, who was waiting outside : " Maria," said this shameless beggar, " come in here and be measured."

Other stories bring home to us Father Murphy's grim humour. A

solicitor who had done a good deal of legal work for the parish sent in a very heavy bill. The young curate who acted as accountant showed the bill to his superior, saying : " The man must have the heart of a vulture." " I don't mind the heart of a vulture," said Father John ; " what I do mind is the bill of an ' aigle '." There is a memorable tale of domestic crisis at the presbytery. Mary Lodge, his housekeeper, rushed into Father Murphy's room, crying : " Oh, your Reverence, the two new servants, Biddy and Judy, have taken knives to each other and are killing each other downstairs." The old man, who was reading his breviary, looked up. " Begone, woman ! " said he. " Shut the door and dismiss the survivor in the morning."

General Hickie enables us to see Father John as he was during these later years :—

> I can well remember his stalwart form and his fine appearance. He stood just over six feet in height and wore an enormous tall hat, just like the hat you use in the pictures of Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator. When he walked abroad he used to put on a double cape, and he carried a huge malacca gold-mounted cane with a black silk tassel. He was a fine old gentleman. When we were very small he often came into our nursery, and I remember how we enjoyed a song he sang for us and which had as a refrain : " The cow jumped over the barleycorn and sadly bruised her nose."

During the period of his ministry, Father Murphy devoted himself particularly to the poor. In 1837 he founded the Mercy Hospital. He was responsible for bringing the Sisters of Charity to the North Infirmary. He took a great interest in the old Nile Street Hospital and the Maternity Hospital. " A man of large property, his heart was bigger than his means. To every Catholic charity in the city his donations were not only large but of frequent occurrence. When their interests demanded, no difficulty deterred him. His benefactions did not stop there ; for in those cases of individual distress which came under his notice, his generosity was unbounded."[1] His face was known in every lane and tenement of his parish. It seemed to him, in his enormous humility, that he could never do enough. He was continually speaking in the pulpit of his former life, so emphasising his sinfulness that, we are told, the Bishop had to intervene.

Little remains to be said. In 1874 Father John was made Archdeacon of Cork. That same year he decided to retire, so that he might devote the rest of his life to prayer and penance. He spent his nine last years at St. Vincent's, Sunday's Well, where he died on 10th March, 1883 at the age of eighty-seven. So began the last and finest flight of Black Eagle.

B. G. MacCarthy

[1] *SS. Peter and Paul's Parish Magazine*, October 1936.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

LXXXIX

To Brian, son of Cathaoir, Ó Conchobhair Failghe (+1555).

EOGHAN MHAC AODHA Í CHOBHTHAIGH cc

1. Failghigh chosnas clú Laighean,
a cclú as fada ó do fromhadh;
síol a ndáigh clú do cuireadh,
sguireadh clú cáigh dá gcomhar.

2. Cuiread geall a crú an Chalbhaigh
geall clú dá gcuiread Laighnigh;
gibé ciall a-tá ag Teamhraigh,
ceanglaidh Brian lá le Laighnibh.

3. Críoch a síodha sníomh foghadh;
cá síoth don díorma dhaighfhear?
Múr Tí ní teach gan mhuirear,
do cuireadh hé a leath Laighean.

4. Treise d'fhíoch an fhian Fhailgheach,
siad risin síodh ní suirgheach;
téid ann fios ar an bhFailgheach,
ainbhreath Gall ar Lios Luighdheach.

5. Cur comhloinn fa céim docar
a dhoghraing féin dá bhfaiceadh;
fa chur ngliadh nír gheabh locadh;
bean d'fhocal le Brian braithtear.

6. Caor shluaigh go Tolaigh dTeamhra
le bhfuair foras na faghla
—gnáth síodh a ndiaigh na diomdha;
iomdha ag líodh Bhriain ar Bhanbha.

7. Mac Cathaoir do bhlagh bearna,
re gcamhaoir do ghabh gormgha,
cosmhail sin is dál diomdha,
ní dhiongna acht rádh fir foghla.

8. Toisg ríoghna d'fhios an Fhailghigh
a síodhbhrugh go slios Inbhir;
cobhair shluaigh don fhóir Fhailghigh
fuair d'fhailghibh óir ó inghin.

9. Mac Sicbháin nar ob fhilidh
dob ionáigh as ochd ccuraidh;
a gheasa as-teagh go ttabhair
maraidh fleadh Leasa Lughaidh.

10. Naoi laoich do bhuaidhir Banbha
gluaisid le gaoith a n-omhna;
ar líon ngliadh do bhlagh bearna
Brian re n-ealbha dhamh ndorrdha.

11. Rún ler imdhigh d'ól fhuairshreabh
ag inghin tar ól rífhleadh,
tarla lá ar cúl dá chaoilshleagh,
ler sgaoileadh rún mná Míleadh.

12. Cairt Í Chonchubhair ceilidh
go gormthulaigh Airt d'fhoghail;
bean ar druim Bhriain a bruighin
cuiridh chiaigh ttruim fa tholaigh.

13. Sleagh le ngabhthar mar ghuaillidh,
ní faghthar fear a taobhaigh;
fuarais feidhm cóir don chaoilshleigh,
sgaoilidh tóir a beirn bhaoghail.

14. Tearc a ngliaidh ar chlú ad chumaidh;
do chlú, a Bhriain, is clú ceannaigh
dul a ccath ní d'fheidhm ollaimh,
congaibh feilm do chlach cceangail.

15. Bean bhacaigh cruidh do chaomhna
sreabh at aghaidh d'fhuil mhórdha
lá d'aoidhigh fa fheirg ndéanmha
térna a cceilg t'aoinidh órdha.

16. An fhiodhbhadh ag reic roghan
iomdha leisin mbreith bhearar;
an leac dá ndeach tar dhligheadh
breath fhileadh leat is leabhar.

17. Caor le tteagair tar thórainn
a braon ní fearthain fhábhaill;
críoch a sgéal dola ar dhílinn
déar d'fhírrinn t'fhogha ar ámhuill.

18. Céim ad choinne, a Bhriain, beiridh
a coinne fa chiaigh rabhaidh;
lá red thochta ad theagh cuiridh
cuiridh bean fholta at aghaidh.

19. Tú ag aithris ar ghnaoi nGuaire
nach faicthir dhaoibh a ndáile;
mar sin sire síoth cléire
téighe a ndíoth fine fáinne.

20. Fríoth dá fhéile súd samhail
an cú fa chéile d'Eimhir;
duais leibh nar éasgaidh d'fhilidh
siridh shleigh d'fhégsain t'einigh.

21. Tarla a gabháil ort d'fhiachaibh
an t-olc nar fholáir d'fhéchain
má a-deir fáith nach féil nuachair
re ráith tTuathail féin féchaidh.

22. Re buain mbéime ar fhear n-iomaidh
do gheabh t'fhéile mar orraidh;
tarla a cceilg do chnú gceangail,
meallaidh tú fheirg an ollaimh.

23. Guais daoibh dá ttile Theamhraigh
buain fa ithche naoimh neimhnigh
fa dhíon chrann is chuan n-oidhrigh
fuar d'oighribh Gall a ngeimhlibh.

24. Cuirthear ort d'éigin oinigh
an crodh nar éidir d'fhoghail;
cuid dá ghnáth féin ag filidh
siridh béim gan fháth oraibh.

25. Claonadh na ccall ní córa
baoghal gomadh barr tnúdha
mar táid ód chédchur chána
fégthar trágha fhód Úna.

26. Fríoth ceatha do chéir shaithe,
an fhearthain féin nach fliche ;
braon do bhaoi ag cor san chluiche
muiche iná gal laoi im Life.

27. Grian re srothaibh ag suirghe
niamh ar chlochaibh mar choinnle ;
tig saor ó ghal na gaibhle
braon fa mhaighre ag cur choimhdhe.

28. Fóir Ghall re síoth ag soighin
a fhíoch as ann do adhain ;
fáidh is Brian 'n-a dá mbuidhin
fiadh fuinidh madh áil d'fhaghail.

29. Toghthar tar fhínfhleidh oidhreadh
le mílidh oirir Almhan ;
treabh Dhá Thí go fóill fuirgheadh
cóir nach bhfuighbheadh sí a snadhmadh.

30. Crodh don Bhriansoin do beanadh,
do chliaraibh ní cor sligheadh ;
teas deirg re a ghruaidh do gabhadh
rabhadh fhuair re bhfeirg bhfileadh.

31. Gaoth fhaghla fa ua an Chalbhaigh
labhra na ndruadh gur dhaingnigh ;
cioth smóil do fhear dá omhnaibh
foghlaidh eadh n-óir an Fhailghigh.

32. Fríoth rún len much do mhosgail,
ní clú do chur a n-aisgidh,
ar chloinn ríogh fa char ccosgair
brosdaidh bladh a ghníomh ngaisccidh.

TRANSLATION

1. The men of Í Fhailghe uphold Laighin's fame ; their glory is long-established ; seed has been sown by them in hope of a harvest of renown ; let other folks' glory no longer try to rival theirs.

2. Let the men of Laighin, if they would lay a wager on someone, lay it on the stock of the Calbhach ; all the associations of Teamhair Brian attaches to Laighin.

3. The only purpose of their peace is the weaving of spears (in battle) ; what peace is in store for that troop of heroes ? Té's Fort, that ever-crowded castle, is set before the Laighin (to strive for).

4. Most fierce in fury is the troop of Í Fhailghe, no lovers of peace! When Goill inflict wrong on Lughaidh's Fort a cry (for help) goes forth to the hero of Í Fhailghe.

5. To fight were hard for him had he any regard for his own discomfort; in the matter of a battle he has never thought of refusing; a woman Brian expects (to yield) at a single word of his.

6. The strong force which has enabled him to be so persistent in fight is making for Teamhair Hill; peace will follow his time of anger (for) many are the folk who link him (as spouse) with Banbha.

7. Cathaoir's son who breaks every danger-gap takes up before dawn his blue-bladed spear; he will always act the part of (?) a fighting-man, and that is likely to bring on contention!

8. From an elf-mound a queen speeds to the estuary-bank seeking the Hero of Í Fhailghe; with a gift of gold bracelets he gets from that lady the help of a (fairy-) host for the Í Fhailghe troop.

9. Siobhán's son, ever hospitable to poets, accompanied by eight warriors, will be ever ready for fight; he shall enjoy Lughaidh's Fort and thus fulfill his *geasa*.

10. Those nine warriors set Banbha in turmoil, their spears speeding across it on the wind; Brian with (troops as) a herd of maddened oxen breaks through gaps held by full musters.

11. The spirit in which he chose to drink of cold springs rather than of royal banquets in presence of a queen, and which swept away the heart of Míl's spouse, is his spirit every day as he stands behind his two sharp spears.

12. Ó Conchobhair is hiding his charter till he seize Art's green Hill (i.e. Teamhair); a fairy-woman from an elf-mound follows Brian and casts a heavy mist over that hill (so that he may approach and take it?).

13. The spear, his constant companion on the march,—no man is found to face it; he has learned how best to wield that sharp spear, and can deliver any troop from danger-gap.

14. In fight scarce any man can match thy fame; thy glory, O Brian, is dearly bought; to go into battle is not a poet's function, but do *thou* ever wear that helmet with thy inlaid jewels.

15. . . . . .

16. Crowds agree with the judgment given by the wood which declares its choice (of thee by its fruitfulness); even if law be buried in the tomb poets and books will still proclaim thee.

17. The fruit for which a trespass is committed—its juice will become a veritable torrent (of blood) (?); a drop from thy spear-point shed in playfulness (oft) ends in being a deluge.

18. O Brian, a lady comes to meet thee, her trysting-place 'neath a mist which tells of her presence; but she places contentions in thy path to the house whither she invites thee (i.e. Teamhair?)

19. Imitating Guaire's fame, thou dost not even glance at what thou art bestowing; thou deprivest thyself even of thy family-ring, seeking thus to appease poets.

20. A parallel to the generosity of the Hound, that spouse of Eimhear, has been found; to test thy generosity a poet asks of thee a spear, that gift so unlikely to be given away.

21. The evil which thou seest inevitable—its acceptance is thy duty; (even) if a seer says it is no marriage-feast (i.e. unmixed joy) thou still dost strive for Tuathal's Fort.

22. Thy princely generosity undertakes to outdo every rival; thou conjurest away the anger of a poet caught in the charm of thy clustering jewels.

23. When thou art ruling Teamhair, thou art likely to win the intercession of the angry saint (its patron) ; guarded by woods and icy waters, thou canst be indifferent to the descendants of the Goill lying in chains.

24. Owing to thy generosity an inexhaustible wealth is forced on thee ; when a poet receives anything less than his accustomed portion he seeks to discredit thee, but he has no reason therefor.

25. Let the state of the shores of Úna's lands (i.e. Connachta ?) after thy first levy be examined ; I fear their state means mounting anger (on the part of foes) ; the bending of their hazel-trees (neath fruit) has not juster cause.

26. From the wax of a swarming hive a shower (of honey) comes forth—no rain-showers could be heavier ; rain, playing its part (in enriching the land) preceded each morning's sun over the Life.

27. When the sun woos the stream (drying it up) a sheen as of torch-light is upon the stones ; yet (enough) water to save the salmon escapes the sun-ray's heat.

28. When the host of the Goill look for peace Brian's wrath arises ; he would part (in anger) from even a seer who thought to plunder the Western land.

29. Ice(-water) is chosen by the Warrior of the Land of Almha rather than wine-feast ; let Dá Thí's House wait awhile ; its time for consolidation is not yet come.

30. The lessening of Brian's wealth is no check to the march of poets (coming to visit him) ; an (anticipated) scorch on his cheek warns him not to provoke a poet's anger (by a refusal).

31. The storm of battle has blown over the Calbhach's scion and has shown the druids' words to be true ; each gold-armletted warrior of the Lord of Ḟ Fhailghe sends forth a shower of sparks from his spears.

32. We now know the secret which makes thy muscles (?) alert ; 'tis the fame of his gallantry which spurs on a king's son to fight—no cheap winning of glory.

NOTES

MS.: 23 D 14, 62 except for the following : I*c*. chlu *d*. ccaigh 2*b*. -eadh *d*. -ghladh 5*b*. bfh. *sic infra* *c*. ghabh 6*b*. fodla 6*d*. líogh 7*a* bhladh *d*. fhir bhfo. 9*a*. siubh. ; fil. *d*. fleagh 10*c*. bhladh 11*b*. -eagh 12*d*. thul. 13*b*. -aigh 14*d*. cloch 15*a*. chruidh 16*a*. -bha 18*b* ci. *c*. tea. *d*. fo. 20*b*. céi. *d*. dfhéchain 21*c*. fáidh 22*b*. ghabh; urr. *d*. feirg 23*b*. itche *c* n-*abest* *d*. ghall 24*a*. -gean 25*d*. féch. 26*c*. bhí ;-the 27*c*. ticc ;-phle 28*b*. and *d*. *vel* dfogh. 29*a*. -eigh 30*d*. fu. 31*b*. laph. ;-agh *d*. -aigh 32*c*. chor. *After st.* 32 *the scribe has :* a léaghthóir ní fhuair mé comdhúnadh an dána so san tsheanchairt, gidheadh atá a fhios agam gurab beag an uireasbhaidh atá air do réir bharamhla · misi Murchadh.

NEOPLATONISM AND THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.

DURING the centuries that followed the death of Aristotle philosophy in Greece at first continued to be a public cult in which the enthusiasm of the pupils kindled the zeal of the masters. Later it became a way of making money in which the neediness of the masters pressed them to kindle the zeal of the pupils. In that first period the original consideration of problems was still the rule rather than the study of the works of previous philosophers, though this study was not neglected. The Pyrrhonists revived scepticism ; the Epicureans became the first parents of humanistic materialism. Perhaps the greatest contribution of all to philosophy was made by the Stoics who developed a materialistic morality. Never was such longing for a holier world joined with such tragic conviction that no holier world could be. For Stoics matter and being were synonymous. Their thought was physical rather than metaphysical and they advanced beyond Aristotle in the development of scientific logic. But they are best known for their clear recognition of natural law ; merely by studying human nature, they said, one can know that it is intended for a certain kind of moral action, which specifies it and, if despised, renders its despisers despicable. The idea is found vaguely in Aristotle, clearly implied in Plato, but expressed with force only by the Stoics.

Had we time to pause we should find some disconcertingly queer philosophers amongst the Stoics. Their founder, Zeno, by killing himself inaugurated their craze for suicide. His successor Cleanthes, ex-heavyweight bruiser and inspired poet, starved himself to death. Even in Pliny's lifetime visitors to Stoic households in Rome might often notice some member of the family dining on cold water only and could be certain that the old gentleman was cheerfully engaged in giving his family the slip.

Since Pericles had established a tradition of welcome for genius the greatest philosophers in that first post-Aristotelean period had settled in Athens. Later ages, ineptly but attractively, have called the group the University of Athens. Soon students thronged to Athens from all parts of Greece to learn philosophy and rhetoric, always the naturally essential elements of education. The masters taught in the open air (except Socrates who taught wherever he was) each in his acquired " beat," secured to him by public opinion or private right, which was the title to the tenure of the Academy and the Lyceum. Many taught in the groves and porches set up by Cimon to adorn the city ; the Stoics took their name from the

Painted Porch or *Stoa* in which Zeno taught. The richer students were put up at the private houses of the masters. This profitable line in paying guests aroused great competition for the richer students, so that the masters at times even connived at the kidnapping of new arrivals by their loyal veteran followers. The poorer students needed two obols a day (about threepence) : one for board and lodging, one to pay the master. They had a right to an obol a day from the state for light civic work ; the other they found as best they could. Like the city cockneys they slept in straggly, tumble-down shacks—*prava, cubantia, prona, supina, atque absona tecta.* They wore tattered scholastic gowns, and not only wore but practised rags. They repeated their lectures together in the public baths and gymnasiums. They passed their lives, like students of all ages, alternately in the company of the wise and the wild.

The Rise of Neoplatonism

But, though Athens retained the title and dignity of philosophical capital of the world, the main philosophical activity passed to Alexandria in the Christian era. Alexander, the city's founder, had bequeathed the throne of Egypt to his general Ptolemy, who founded a dynasty under the same conditions as that founded two thousand years later in Sweden by Bernadotte. And the Ptolemies, unable to justify their rule, did better by making it profitable to their subjects to become accessories to their usurpation. They made Alexandria the richest and most cultured city of the time. They founded the greatest library of antiquity, containing the most complete and authentic collection of the works of Aristotle. Lured then by this library and the patronage of the Ptolemies, teachers of philosophy flocked into the city from Greece and elsewhere to set up their schools. But the Ptolemies dared extend no favouritism to the Greeks. Alexandria was then the greatest trade-centre of the world ; for not only did it lie just west of the isthmus that was practically the meeting place of the only three continents known to the ancient world, but it was served by a fleet of argosies, built by the Ptolemies, which imported in the course of commerce the wares and the thoughts as well of the Greeks as of the mysterious north and of the glittering and sagacious east. To the strange currents of thought that flowed in from Asia and Africa and, through Rome, from the darkness of Germany the Egyptians gave as much honour as to the Hellenic stream. And when the Romans under Augustus conquered and annexed Egypt as a province they, with their usual wisdom, allowed its culture to proceed unhindered—pleased rather than not at its eclecticism.

Thus at the birth of Neoplatonism, the interpreter through which Greek wisdom was to communicate with Christian thought, Alexandria was acquainted with more philosophical systems, more diverse amongst themselves, than ever Rome or Athens knew. The Alexandrian Jews,

led by Philo a contemporary of our Lord's, tried to reconcile Plato with the Old Testament. God could not, they held, contaminate His goodness by direct contact with the world; therefore He created it through the instrumentality of the Logos, a complex of subsistent ideas. The Christian pantheistic heretics, the Gnostics, aristotelised the doctrine by turning the intermediate ideas into a hierarchy of eternal agents, one of which was the Word. The Manicheans were also powerful in Egypt; they were Persian dualists who taught that two independent supreme powers, good and evil, were at war for the government of the world. Indeed their founder, Manes the Persian, was a contemporary of Plotinus and a dweller in Alexandria though probably not at the same time. It is even possible that some inklings of the Vedantic philosophy had reached the city. Such philosophers as these set up their schools not in the open air but in formal lecture rooms, constituting in the city a kind of Philosophy Fair. They were interested less in philosophy than in the fees for philosophy and less, like original philosophers, in the truth than, like commentators, in what their predecessors had thought about the truth.

Into this lively market, where food was sold for the mind as well as the body, a young man strolled on a day early in the third century. His name was Plotinus, but we know nothing of his birth or parentage. Characteristically he stepped into history out of the mists. It was in search of truth that he had come to Alexandria, where even truth and its imitations could be had at a price. He heard in turn one teacher of philosophy after another without conviction that he had found any clue to the world's mystery, though all the sects mentioned above as well as the works of Plato and Aristotle were later to leave their traces in his thought. However about the year 233 A.D. a friend recommended him to join the school of Ammonius Saccas; and as soon as Plotinus came into his presence he cried, "This is the man whom I wanted," and studied under him for about ten years. When the time came for Plotinus to set up a school, he did so in Rome rather than be a rival of Ammonius in Alexandria. Ammonius, himself a self-taught philosopher, seems to have taught an undeveloped form of Neoplatonism, but we know for certain virtually nothing of him except that he was the master of Plotinus.

The Philosophy of Plotinus

But Neoplatonism is a word that neither Plotinus nor Augustine would have used of their philosophy. In their own eyes they were simply Platonists, exponents of the true mind of Plato which Aristotle had so grossly traduced, though Augustine consciously diverged from Plato where Plato was hopelessly inconsistent with Christianity. Indeed this view that Neoplatonism *is* strict Platonism has been revived and is surprisingly still winning scholarly adherents. One reason why this view

is at all arguable is that Plotinus, though a logical, was not a precise thinker. The inferior clarity of his metaphysics to those of Plato and Aristotle is not fully compensated for by the magnificence of his vision and the poignant sincerity of his style.

For Plotinus philosophy is solely the ascent of the mind to the discovery of God, Whom he calls the One, and its descent from the One to the Many of this world, which it re-discovers in terms of the One. He begins by considering the things of this world. Everything has oneness; but nothing can be called one, for each thing is completed by something outside itself on which it depends. Obviously what Plotinus calls oneness we should be more inclined to call independence or self-sufficiency, which are also attributes of God. For example, a mind is not fully a mind until it has a thought. It is not doing what makes it a mind; it *is* not a mind but only *can be* a mind. But when it is a mind, when it is minding, it must mind some object outside of itself on which it depends. It is then a mind because it is completed. But it is a mind then only dependently on something outside itself. It is not one in Plotinus's sense because it is not complete by itself or independent.

Since then a material thing has oneness though it is not one, whence does it derive its oneness? Clearly, answered Plotinus, from a Source supreme above the material world that not only has unity but is One—complete, simple, independent. (The influence of Aristotle's idea of God begins to show here). But Plotinus has just shown that mind is one of the things that depend on the One; and mind is the divinest of all things that exist, for mind rules all the rest, naturally disposing of them according to its judgement and will. It follows, therefore, that the One does not exist and is not a mind. Indeed Plotinus interprets Plato as meaning this of the Good in the *Republic*. What then did Plotinus think of the existence of the things that must depend on this non-existent One? Logically he should have been an idealist, denying the existence of anything outside of the mind. Actually he was probably too indifferent to this world to ask himself the question whether it existed or not. And since it sufficed him to have the One as an object of contemplation, its non-existence did not trouble him.

The Descent from the One to the Many follows with that logical rhythm that confirmed the belief of many disciples in the finality of Neoplatonism. The One, since it is perfect, is wholly good and so needs something to be good *to*. This must be an intelligence; for the One, the Source of all intelligible things, is itself intelligible though not intelligent. Hence what can enjoy the One can only be an intelligence. The first dimanation from the One in the Neoplatonic hierarchy of intermediate agents is therefore Intelligence. And because this Intelligence knows the Supreme Source of all things and is in turn source of all things inferior to itself, it contains the universal ideas or archetypes of all other

things that can exist. Here is the decisive improvement made by Neoplatonism on what, following Aristotle and St. Thomas, we take to be Plato's doctrine : universal ideas no longer subsisting in themselves but in a supreme mind. Several other dimanations intervene before the formation of concrete material things ; but we must confine ourselves to a brief outline of this great philosophical vision. Plotinus adds that ecstasy is the supreme virtue ; for the human soul, exiled from its Father, can only be at home when it forgets all things else in order alone to contemplate the Alone.

Clearly Plotinus's was an escapist philosophy, fleeing from the nightmare of an already crumbling civilisation to dream of a non-existent Perfection. But it need not have been escapist had he adverted to the possibility of a subsistent Intellect that was its own Object—in other words, to the actual existence of God that he had all but proved. And it is wrongly called a mystical philosophy. Porphyry tells us that he found Plotinus more than once in a state of trance. But even if we can trust Porphyry's judgement on what he found, Plotinus never underwent the ecstasy of the genuine mystics, their rapture at the direct, though clouded, sight of God. For, apart from the conclusive fact that he was opposed to Christianity, Plotinus generally lacked the toughness and practicality of the genuine mystic, that firm grasp on the reality of both worlds. Gentle, poetical, revulsed by the greed and malice of his time, he renounced both heaven and earth to retire into a fastness of his imagination, which like all dreams was impregnable to arms.

Plotinus in Rome

Equipped with this philosophy, Plotinus set out on his pilgrimage. The occasion of his departure from Alexandria was fittingly fantastic. The Emperor Gordian had declared war on Sapor the Persian king in 243, and the Roman expeditionary force was to pass north of Egypt on its way eastward. Plotinus determined to accompany the legions in the hope of learning something of the philosophy of the Persian Magi and perhaps of the Indian Brahmans. He joined the expedition and may have learned a little of the wisdom of the east, for his philosophy in spirit has affinities with Brahmanism. But it can have been only a little, for the war was soon abandoned on news of Gordian's assassination. Such news had ceased to be sensational, for between 235 and 249 there were seven emperors all of whom died violent deaths ; indeed from 211 to 291 no emperor died naturally in his bed. These facts prove a method of democratic control of government that had its drawbacks, but it was at least some guarantee that only patriots would seek the purple. Plotinus felt more than ever alienated from the world by the political chaos of his time. Nevertheless he returned with the legions not to Alexandria but to Rome, where he opened a school.

The school was a remarkable success, if prestige is its measure. The greatest in Rome, including the Emperor Gallienus and his empress, attended his lectures. At least they did so until Plotinus began to importune Gallienus to found on a chosen site a city to be called Platonopolis, which was to be an exact model of Plato's Republic. The emperor had no intention of consenting ; but he ran short of polite excuses (after all no emperor ever had time in those days to learn his job) and began to show signs of panic at sight of Plotinus. But as a teacher of philosophy Plotinus did not rise to his reputation. He was a shy lecturer and, when he invited his pupils to put objections at any point during the lecture, they so heckled him that he lost control of his thoughts and of them and inevitably tempted them to horseplay and disorder. Yet they respected him and, on his advice, studied Plato and Aristotle and corresponded regularly with the great teachers of Athens and Alexandria. He himself meditated much, but read little because of his weak sight. Once a painter asked him to allow him to take his portrait, for he was handsome. But Plotinus, who regarded matter as a phantom reality because it could change, refused to allow him " to perpetuate the image of an image". Nothing daunted, the painter joined his school and, inaugurating the practice of subsequent generations of school boys, took the master's portrait under the guise of taking notes. But Plotinus won ; his features have not been perpetuated.

Undoubtedly the cause of Plotinus's success was the reverence of the Romans for his moral uprightness. They worshipped him as the only doer of good deeds in a naughty world. They awarded him a position rather like that of Gandhi in India, though without looking to him for active leadership. Many preferred to submit their civil disputes to his arbitration than to take them to the law courts. He even had some practice as a private detective. At least one case is on record of a mysterious theft in which he was asked to find the criminal. Having heard all the known circumstances, he retired to think them over and at last named as the thief a slave whom no one had suspected. The slave under torture admitted his guilt. We do not know his detective methods. They were certainly not those of Sherlock Holmes. Nor were they the methods of magic ; for like Augustine, though unlike other Neoplatonists, Plotinus regarded magic as pernicious chicanery. But unlike Augustine he believed that the Christian doctrine of Redemption through Christ implied a magical way of salvation.

But Plotinus found his strongest attachment to earthly things in his quite unsentimental friendship for his pupil Porphyry. Lured by the fame of Plotinus, Porphyry had left his native Syria to study under the master at Rome. After a year, shattered in nerves by overwork and his failure to see an answer to the riddle of existence, Porphyry had determined on suicide, but naturally only on condition that he could obtain

the approval of his revered master and director. But Plotinus, who knew that Porphyry's ailment attacks many earnest philosophers from time to time, felt little enthusiasm for suicide as a remedy and, with distressing anticlimax, advised a holiday in Sicily instead. The youngster went with his temper smouldering and returned cured, able once more to endure cheerfully " the burden of the mystery of all this unintelligible world". And now Porphyry, who had been saved from suicide by Plotinus, determined to save Plotinus from the poppy of oblivion. He not only wrote his life but he induced Plotinus with immense difficulty to write the *Enneads*, a complete series of treatises on Neoplatonism. With still more difficulty Porphyry edited these treatises ; for, though some passages are more like the literature of the glorious angels than any other passages in pagan literature, Porphyry found the *Enneads* for the most part unsystematic in exposition (however logical and systematic in thought), written in bad and hardly legible handwriting, full of solecisms, bad grammar, misspellings, and all the signs of contempt for intelligibility. He could not entirely remove these faults, but he left the *Enneads* readable. And in later years he wrote commentaries and summaries of them and original works that entitle him to be remembered as more than the planter of the Tree of Porphyry—by which alone most students to-day know his name.

One day Plotinus sent a message to another friend of his, the physician Eustochius. When he arrived, he found Plotinus alone and dying. " Eustochius " said the dying man, " I am waiting to see you before the divine in me hastens to join the Divine in all things." And so it happened that Eustochius was the only witness of his death.

Christian Neoplatonism

For two centuries after the death of Plotinus Neoplatonism increased in influence. Indeed it never died, but rather was gradually absorbed into the stream of the *philosophia perennis*. But during those first two centuries, while the Empire was reeling before the barbarians and its ancient religion was hard pressed by Christianity, paganism had begun to look to Neoplatonism as its bulwark. Christianity so meets our human needs that the hostility of honest men can never be aroused against it except by misrepresenting its nature to them or by inventing a substitute that should imitate at least superficially its qualities. Now Neoplatonism was the bogus Christianity put forward as the rival of the true Christianity by the pagan die-hards of the later Empire. The greatest of all the many distinguished Neoplatonists after Plotinus was Proclus, who lived through most of the fifth century. Recognising the underlying logic and system of Plotinus's work he reduced Neoplatonism to the form of a scientific text-book, with its concepts and definitions rendered precise and its definitions rigorously adhered to. His clarification of Plotinus's thought contributed, in an important measure, to its long survival.

But the pagan strategy was in an odd way too effective to be successful. Neoplatonism ironically turned out to be such a good imitation of the truth that, with some modification, it was adopted as a Christian philosophy. Nevertheless it is truer to say that Neoplatonism discovered Christianity than that Christianity discovered Neoplatonism. For Neoplatonism was christianised when Augustine, won over to the philosophy of Plotinus, recognised that he had been won over to all that had hitherto dismayed him in Christianity, and he became a Christian carrying with him his philosophy. St. Augustine's career is too well known to be retold here. Moreover it is mostly irrelevant to our story; for he devoted only a small part of his activity to philosophy, although he holds a quite vital place in its history. Most of his activity was concerned with his victorious war against all the heresies of the time, with his interest in the religious life that so heightened the prestige of the monastic movement, and with his self-education first as an heroic penitent then as a bishop whose solicitude and strenuous succour for all the various sufferings of his flock never ceased. Even his writing itself is mostly theological or controversial (he never distinguished philosophy from theology). The story of a championship so universal, a protectiveness so pervasive of all the highest values of that time, belongs to general history, not to the special history of philosophy. And so we must confine ourselves to describing the genesis and nature of his contributions to philosophy and their effect on the medieval world.

Augustine's view of the world was always radically dualistic, perhaps because strife was then so characteristic of every phase of life. In his pre-Christian days as a Manichean he had conceived the world as a dualism of good and evil warring for the mastery. But his conscience forbade him to believe that his sin was not his own free choice but made compulsory by an evil god. When a friend introduced him to Plotinus's work and he read there that Good was indeed supreme and unrivalled and evil the result of the imperfections of creatures, the doctrine brought him at once conviction and hope. A year later in 386 he returned to the Catholic Church. But he had only abandoned the Manichean for the Platonic dualism. And, though the Platonic dualism of the material and spiritual worlds is fundamental to Christianity, Augustine like the other Platonists interpreted it as a mutual exclusiveness that to a Thomist seems exaggerated.

But Augustine unhesitatingly cast out of his Neoplatonism all that was inconsistent with Christianity, even though (as he admitted later) he tried to persuade himself that he was not abandoning Plotinus's or Plato's own doctrine. He recognised that, first impressions notwithstanding, the rather grotesque series of dimanations from the One was not central to the system and he omitted it from his philosophy. Central to Neoplatonism was Plotinus's answer to the dilemma of Plato and

Aristotle. Plato's subsistent universals had been justly discredited by Aristotle. Archetypes of things were needed, but they could only be in an intelligence which would be the source of all things. Yet, Aristotle had argued, they cannot be in the intelligence of God, Whose perfection demands that He should depend on nothing outside of Himself and so should *know* nothing outside of Himself. Plotinus therefore put his archetypes in an intelligence outside of the One but immediately dimanating from it. Augustine recognised in this answer a valuable pointer to the solution but also several flaws. That undetermined, unintelligent, non-existent Supreme Principle, the One, was both irreligious and absurd. Any kind of dimanation from it was unintelligible and impossible.

Augustine solved the problem by re-stating the Christian doctrine of creation. Once the possibility of an Absolutely First Unmoved *Efficient* Mover was admitted, it was evident that He could derive full knowledge of all the things that are made from Himself alone ; for that He has made these particular things is a fact about the Maker. Augustine had led the Greeks at last to knowledge of a Divine Mind in which can and must be ideas of the universal archetypes of all other things.

So far Augustine's is common Christian doctrine. But it now led him to a doctrine of human knowledge, Illuminism, that gives its distinctive character to his system. The human mind can know eternal truths or truths that cannot under any condition cease to be truths. Such truths, for instance, are the universals, which are essences always capable of existing. Now, he argued, only from the Eternal Truth can knowledge of other eternal truths come, and it did not occur to him that this knowledge could come otherwise than *directly* from God. Following M. Gilson I interpret Augustine's theory of the way in which this illumination is produced as follows : The human mind, made in the image of the Divine, carries with it from birth the universal patterns of all things that it can know. It contains universal ideas not ready-made but rather as the cuckoo clock contains the cry of the cuckoo, holding it in the leash of a cocked force that at the right moment will produce it to our ears. So when any object presents itself to the senses the corresponding universal idea is formed and released into consciousness from the latent power of the mind by the action of God. And when a man further judges anything to be real or true, he can only do so by the help of a new illumination from the Truth of God. This theory suggests that there is a very loose connection between the body and the soul. And in fact, if we use words in their Thomistic senses, we cannot say that Augustine held the soul to be the form of the body. As an extreme dualist he believed that matter and spirit were so opposed that the body and the soul of man were necessarily two substances and not one.

Another doctrine of Augustine's that was at least strongly emphasised by his dualism, though it is common Catholic doctrine, is his inspiring

doctrine of authority. In the *City of God* his mind is full of the vision of two cities, one the spiritual city of God whose movement is Godward, the other the material city of earth whose movement too should be Godward, whereas it tends rebelliously to live for its own sake. Thus his view of authority is that all authority comes from God—indeed that in a sense all authority is in God, that God is our only Master. Before citizens have any obligation to obey the state, or children their parents, or servants their masters, they must be commanded to obey not by their earthly superiors but by God through the natural law or otherwise. And even then they must only obey when what their earthly superiors command is not morally wrong. To that extent we must always be critical of the orders of earthly superiors. A little thought will reveal the dignity and freedom conferred on human beings by this doctrine of responsibility to God alone. Very little more thought will make it plain that this freedom of conscience is a complete explanation of the political persecution of religion. The state that mistakes its sovereignty for divinity—and in practice many states do—can only regard as treachery obedience to any other law than its own. Hence the thousands of martyrs who have died for this principle (St. Thomas More is merely the classical example of many others) have died for man as well as for God.

Augustine's Illuminism revealed a far more convincing foundation than the Stoics knew for the doctrine of the natural law. Augustine showed that this natural law was a reflection of the eternal law, which was God's intention in creating human nature to obtain of it fulfilment of His purpose. Again that Illuminism led Augustine, though he was the first great critic and defender of natural human knowledge, to qualify his trust in any other source of knowledge than faith.

But we must finish our brief glimpse into Augustine's philosophy. When he died the Roman Empire was already foundering and it will be many centuries before another philosopher worthy of the name will arise in Europe. But he had already secured that the Platonic achievement, one of the two great streams of Greek thought, should endure and, thanks to his revision, should be at the service of the Church. When the anarchy of the Dark Ages has passed and the Church can once more resume her full functions in a relatively orderly world, she will find Augustine's bequest of his philosophy a weapon unrusted by the ages against error and a standard leading men by love and reason to the Faith. And so final will that philosophy appear to the medieval men that, when St. Thomas attempts to rescue the other great stream of Greek thought from oblivion and to put it at the service of the Church, he will go nigh to being branded as a heretic.

ARTHUR LITTLE

THE IRISH "CATHOLIC CONVERT ROLLS"

BY FRANCIS FINEGAN, S.J.

PRIOR to the enactment of the Penal Laws under Queen Anne, there had undoubtedly been perversions from amongst the Irish nobility and Catholic landed gentry to the state established church. Thus on the eve of the Cromwellian confiscations not a few Catholics of Irish or Anglo-Irish origin had bartered their faith in the hope of retaining possession of property and lands, but no official record of such perversions was kept. It is obvious from even a cursory examination of Protestant Church records, as baptismal and marriage registers, that the names of Irish and Anglo-Irish landed gentry had become identified with the alien creed before the close of the seventeenth century. From 1703 the names of Catholic "converts" were enrolled in the Court of Chancery. The index of the "Catholic Convert Rolls" is all that has survived the destruction of the Public Records Office in 1922.

I

The procedure in the registration of "converts" was now somewhat as follows. The perverting Catholic subscribed his signature to a formula of renunciation of Catholic doctrines drawn up by the Protestant church authorities. He then made his appearance at a public service in a place of Protestant worship and before the assembled congregation read his renunciation. Judging by the press reports of the time, this ceremony generally took place on a Sunday. The following statement from the *Cork Evening Post* of 12 August 1773 is typical: "Limerick, August 9th. On Sunday the 1st of August, mr. William Dwyer, a young man of liberal education, renounced the errors of the church of Rome and embraced the Protestant religion in the parish church of Cahirconlish, as did some little time before John Morony of Cahirconlish, carpenter." The fact that a Catholic had abandoned his faith and embraced the established religion was in due course certified at the Protestant Diocesan Court and the certificate was forwarded to and enrolled in the Court of Chancery Dublin. The form of the diocesan certificate seems to have differed from one diocese to another. Fortunately we have preserved in Healy's *History of the Diocese of Meath* (Protestant) an instance of this kind of certificate, the formula of which was drawn up by Henry Maule a former Protestant bishop of Meath: "Henry, by Divine providence, Lord Bishop of Meath, to all to whom these presents come greeting. We do hereby certifie that A.B. of the Parish of C. in the County of D. hath renounced the errors of the church of Rome, and was received into the communion of the

Church of Ireland, on the fourteenth day of July in the year of Our Lord seventeen hundred and forty-five and that the said A.B. is a protestant and doth conform to the Church of Ireland as by law established. In testimony whereof we have caused our episcopal seal to be affixed to these presents. Dated the twenty-second day of July in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and forty-five."

The full period covered by the index of the "Convert Rolls" is 1703–1845. The scope of this present study is that of the eighteenth century alone. The total entries of registered names from 1703 until the end of 1799 amounts to some 5,650. Of this number 1,380 are the names of women, of whom 225 apostatised with their husbands. The total of convert married couples need not, of course, be limited to this latter figure. It would be idle to discuss the proportion of Irish to Anglo-Irish names. Of the grand total of 5,650, over two thousand are registered as of Dublin. A little more than five hundred names are given with no address. Some few dozen names are given whose townlands are difficult to identify. Thus, "John Power, Ardmore," may be a resident of Waterford or Tipperary or Galway. The contemporary press does not give complete reports of the "conversions". In many cases also the registered address is limited to the name of the diocese or county. Accordingly it is difficult to tabulate the names completely according to either civil or ecclesiastical divisions of the country.

At the same time it must be remembered that the number of Dublin addresses given are not all those of persons having a permanent or even quasi-permanent domicile in the capital city. Local historians will recognise in these lists of Dublin addresses the names of persons from all the counties of Ireland. Many, it would seem, chose Dublin to keep the fact secret so as to avoid local comment. A few instances may be given here. Thus under the simple entry "*Meagher Andrew, Dublin, 23 July 1766/27 October 1766*," we learn the fact of the perversion of the notorious ex-priest and polemical writer, formerly of the Archdiocese of Cashel. *En passant* it may be mentioned that this wretched man's downfall would seem to have been occasioned by reading indiscriminately the works of the atheistic French encyclopedists during the period of his studies abroad, as his book *The popish Mass* (published by Ferrar of Limerick) amply shows. He was afterwards inducted to a living in the Protestant diocese of Cashel. An entry in *Faulkiner's Dublin Journal* for 23 February 1747 tells us that a Mr. Edmond Doyle of the County Galway read his recantation in St. Werburgh's church, Dublin. In comparison with the newspaper report, the entry in the index of the Convert Rolls simply states: "*Doyle, Edmund, Dublin, 22 February 1747/23 February 1747.*" A well known instance is that of Andrew Creagh, a member of an illustrious Limerick family. This man, disturbed by the unwelcome attentions of a notorious 'discovering' clergyman named Palmer, made his recantation in Dublin.

On the same day, 7 November 1751, as he was leaving the Court of Chancery, he met the redoubtable Palmer who had arrived to cause further trouble to his intended victim. Creagh died in the Catholic faith.

II

Leaving out of account the names of persons designated as of the city of Dublin, we can get a fair idea of the distribution of apostasy throughout the country. In general it may be said that the greater number of perversions occurred in the southern and western counties of Ireland. Thus the total number of readily recognisable names for the County Galway, 460, probably exceeds the total number for the entire ecclesiastical province of Armagh. For our present purpose it is enough to indicate that the mortality was heaviest in the ecclesiastical provinces of Tuam and Cashel. The reason for this is not far to seek. As a result of the Cromwellian confiscations and the thinly disguised trickery of the Act of Settlement of Charles II, the majority of the Catholic landed gentry were to be found west of the Shannon. Only a fraction of those expelled from Leinster and Munster got a partial restoration of their lands. Many of the same families returned as tenant farmers under the new occupants of their own former estates. According to Prendergast, author of the *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, the confiscations of Cromwell, the iniquitous Act of Settlement of Charles, and the principal provisions of the Penal Code were all stages in the execution of the same policy—namely the illegal acquisition of Irish land. King, the Protestant archbishop of Dublin (1703–1729), in a letter (quoted by Mant in his *History of the Church of Ireland*) states : " It is plain to me, by the methods that have been taken since the reformation and which are yet pursued by both the civil and ecclesiastical powers, that there never was nor is any design that all should be Protestants." The privileged position of the Ascendancy would have been jeopardised immediately that Irish serfs could claim equal rights before the law on the score of religious equality.

Owing to apostasies among the Catholic gentry, the Catholic majority was for a few ensuing generations rendered inarticulate and helpless in the absence of the leadership that in those days came from birth and the ownership of landed property. But it would be an exaggeration to imply that all or even the greater part of the registered "converts" were of the landed gentry. In actual fact the number of such persons styled as ' Gentleman ' or ' Esquire ' amounts to only a tenth of the total number. Of course the actual number occurring among this class is probably greater. Many of their names will probably be found in the unimposing type of entry, " X.Y. Dublin " etc. Two classes may generally be distinguished in the lists : persons who perverted to preserve property under the first impact of the penal laws and those who changed their religion for other

reasons. It is with the former class that we are immediately concerned. Of the others a word hereafter.

Change of religion would seem to be the only means of escape (with their property) from the machinations of the discoverer. The subterfuge was quickly adopted throughout the country. In Galway, for example, representatives of nearly all the great landed families are found within the first decade or two. The earliest recorded name is that of a Mr. Geoffrey Blake of Drum, whose certificate of apostasy and certificate of enrolment are both dated 20 March 1703. It is evident that Blake's apostasy was pretended or else that he was not accompanied into the Protestant Church by his family, for it is on record that Anthony Blake, Esq. of Drum apostatised fifty years later (1753), and that Patrick Blake, Esq. of Drum embraced Protestantism in 1766. It may be mentioned here that this latter Blake became Mayor of Galway in 1771 and zealously worked for the furtherance of the Protestant interest against Denis Daly, M.P. who, although a member of a "convert" family (Daly of Carrownekelly), proved a staunch supporter of the Catholics in their just claims. The index of the Rolls records perversions of the Blakes of Corbally (Patrick Blake Esq. 1717, Mr. Patrick Blake, 1723, Martin Blake, Gent., 1732), of Grange (Ignatius Blake, Gent. 1728), of Newgrove and of Forbough. The foregoing names do not exhaust the list of branches of the Blake family in Galway, Roscommon or Mayo who really or feignedly abandoned the Catholic Church.

Similarly it would be difficult to treat fully here of the apostasies amongst the many branches of the Burke family. It will be sufficient to recall that the St. Clerans (Isserclerane) branch is mentioned as having perverted in 1719 and the Cloghanour branch in 1723. Sir Theobald Burke, Bart. (of Glinsk) renounced the faith in 1726. Towards the close of the century a baronetcy was conferred upon the Killoran branch who had embraced Protestantism over eighty years previously. As might be expected perversions were frequent amongst the other great landed families who were all intermarried. The Bodkins of Carrowbeg and Moylough, the Donnellans, the Dalys of Carrownekelly (later raised to the Dunsandle peerage), all had their Protestant origins in the early eighteenth century, as had the numerous branches of the Darcys and Frenches. The name of Kirwan occurs with almost monotonous regularity throughout the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, a sufficient proof that the so called conversion of this family was, in its earlier stages at least, simply bogus. Even Froude, no friend of Ireland or Catholicism, is willing to admit that a large number of these ' conversions ' were bogus.

The Frenches of Monivea provide a pathetic example of a family who suffered severely under Cromwell and yet could be induced to renounce the faith for which they had suffered. Under the Act of Settlement this family had to part with their estates to accommodate Lord Trimleston

who previously had to leave his ancestral possessions to eke out an existence in Connaught. The Frenches only recovered their property in part by repurchase. Another branch of the French family, that of Tyrone House (Co. Galway) who afterwards adopted the surname of St. George, gives us another peculiar instance of a family who could easily make room for the Catholic religion as well as Protestantism. Christopher French, a son of Arthur French, Mayor of Galway and a member of the Tyrone family, perverted early in the eighteenth century, while his son became a Catholic priest who died in 1798.

The total of "converts" for Galway, who are styled Mr. or Esq. or Gent. in the Convert Rolls, amounts to over eighty names. This list is of course not exhaustive, as it is possible to identify many more names of these old families hidden away under the less noticeable address of Dublin. And while the outstanding names of the Fourteen Tribes are all practically identified with religious change at this period, it should be remembered that Irish names are also to be found in the Convert Rolls. We have a sad example in the perversion of an O'Shaughnessy of Gort, whose family had courageously tried to recover their property which had been bestowed upon a Thomas Prendergast in 1697. This gentleman, who on his marriage became a Protestant, was the ancestor of the late General Lord Gort. The story of Roebuck O'Shaughnessy's efforts to recover his property, Lough Cutra demesne, from this family is too well known to be repeated here. The Geoghegans, one time owners of extensive estates in Westmeath, were transplanted to Connaught and were allotted Bunowen Castle near Clifden, formerly owned by the O'Malleys. This family of Geoghegan, long since extinct, in its turn changed its allegiance away from the old faith.

A typical example of conversion *de convenance* may be read in *Faulkiner's Dublin Journal* for 9 April 1748: "Mr Williams has been tryed at the Assizes of Wexford and found guilty of returning to the popish religion; for which offence all his Estate, Goods and chattels are forfeited to the Crown; and his body is at the disposal of his majesty." Later in the century we have evidence that some of these conversions were just as bogus as in the earlier decades. The *Freeman's Journal* for 7 January 1779 gives an account of the funeral of one Nicholas Nugent of Prospect, Co. Cavan, who had perverted and married a Protestant. According to this press account a number of Catholic priests attended the funeral and molested the Protestant clergyman, who was compelled to withdraw. The burial was carried out with Catholic rites. The only inference that can be drawn from this is that the man had been reconciled to the Catholic Church. Incidentally, among the many names of Nugent found in the Rolls not one has the christian name of Nicholas. It may be urged that in the case before us the christian name is a printer's error. On the other hand, supposing the name is correct, the question arises whether or not

the registered list is complete. Healy, in his *History of the Diocese of Meath*, states that the number of converts for that diocese amounted to one hundred, adding : " not a very great number considering the space of time covered, but probably not representing more than a fractional part of the real total". This writer does not indicate the sources from which he is able to draw such a conclusion. On the other hand all the evidence goes to show that the numbers on the Convert Rolls were under close observation long before the end of the eighteenth century. Thus in a well known work, *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* (or, a series of letters to John Watkinson, M.D.) published in 1778, we get a truer idea than is implied in Healy's statement just quoted : "As things now stand, the conversion of the Irish Catholics is what zeal may hope for but knowledge never can expect. Of the inefficiency of the Penal Laws for that purpose long experience may convince the most sceptical. It is now above seventy years since they were enacted. Yet in all that time little more than four thousand converts have been made out of a million and a half of people."

At the same time it is admitted that some well-known names will be found to be missing in the Convert Rolls. A few examples of important omissions may be given. It is well known that the sons of the great Catholic lawyer Counsellor Malone, who with Sir Toby Butler pleaded at the bar of the Irish House of Commons against the penal laws in 1704, gave up their religion for the professional advancement held out by Protestantism. These sons of the Catholic counsellor are known to history as Anthony Malone, later Lord Chancellor of Ireland (1757–1760), and Judge Edmond Malone (of Pallas, near Blueball, Offaly) father of the great Shakespearian commentator. The Malones probably renounced the Catholic Church prior to entering on their university studies in England. The ancient family of the Dunnes of Brittas, Clonaslee, Leix, is likewise unmentioned in the Rolls, although it is well known that Francis Dunne the owner of the Brittas estate became a Protestant in 1771. The name of Christopher Blake Kirwan, a well known apostate priest who made his submission to the state church in 1786 at the Protestant parish church of St. Luke's Without, Dublin (the scene of many of the conversions which took place in Dublin), is likewise unmentioned in the Rolls. Less well known to historians, perhaps, is the fact that Kirwan's son, who afterwards became Protestant Dean of Limerick, was an ardent supporter of Daniel O'Connell. Dean Kirwan of Limerick died in the early fifties of the last century. It was through him probably that Maurice Lenihan, the historian of Limerick, came into possession of a curious relic, the theological thesis presented by Christopher Kirwan at Louvain during his period of studies there.

We may here insert a list in chronological order of members of titled families who abandoned the faith at this period. This list contains only

names of families who were actually titled at the time, as it is outside the scope of the present article to treat of the names of those families who were elevated to the peerage after the close of the eighteenth century :—

Richard Nugent, eldest son of Lord Riverstown	2	December	1704
Rt. Hon. Lord Richard Fitzwilliam, Merrion, Dublin	25	June	1710
Sir Gerald Aylmer	11	February	1725
Sir Theobald Burke, Bart., Tuam	5	December	1726
Viscount Nicholas Lord Netterville, Stackallen, Co. Meath	11	November	1728
Susanna Catherine Nugent, called Lady Riverstown, Dublin	17	June	1732
Hon. Edmund Butler, Dublin, Esq.	8	November	1736
Sir Peter Warren, Knight of the Bath	14	July	1752
Rt. Hon. Thomas Nugent, Earl of Westmeath	13	August	1756
Lady Mary Athenry	25	August	1758
Rt. Hon. Lord James Audley and Castlehaven	28	July	1758
Sir Edward Montague, Knight of the Bath, Dublin	1	May	1760
Rt. Hon. Robert Nugent, Dublin	29	May	1762
Hon. Mathias Barnewall, Dublin	17	January	1763
Anthony Nugent, commonly called Lord Riverstown	20	March	1765
Sir Thomas Blake, Bart., Dublin	6	December	1766
Pierce Butler, commonly called Lord Dunboyne	7	February	1769
Baroness Cahir	1	May	1789

The Talbots of Malahide are not mentioned by title in the Rolls, the entry being simply : 'Richard Talbot, Malahide Esq. 3 June 1779.' The titled family of Blake of Menlo did not become permanently Protestant until the apostasy of Sir John Blake, Bart. on 25 June 1807. Some titles of old Catholic families passed into Protestantism, not through the perversion of the holder, but through the iniquitous action of the Court of Wards. A well known instance is that of the Aylmers of Donadea, Co. Kildare. According to Comerford, in his *History of Kildare and Leighlin*, the passing of this old Catholic title was occasioned by the untimely death of Sir Justin Aylmer in 1711. His sons, Sir Gerald and Peter Justin, were handed over by the Court of Wards to Matthew, Lord Aylmer (a Protestant) and brought up in the alien religion.

III

A curious contrast to the many accounts available of sham conversions to Protestantism is the following story of a Catholic who made his peace

with Protestantism at his death. It may be read in *Faulkiner's Dublin Journal* for 2 August 1748 : " EXTRACT OF A PRIVATE LETTER FROM GALWAY :—Mr. John Lynch, a banker in this town who pretended to be a Roman Catholic all his life, declared himself a protestant at his death and read his recantation privately about a fortnight before he died. We hear that his brother hath done the same and openly declares himself a member of the Church of England. Note, the reason of their concealing it so long was on account of their business : and that many others are now going to make their recantation and declare themselves protestants notwithstanding any worldly views to the contrary." The propagandist tendency of the foregoing account must be obvious to any reader. The manner of the recantation, " privately," is certainly open to suspicion. Publicity in some degree was necessary to make the recantation valid in the eyes of the law. Likewise there is no mention of a John Lynch *of Galway* in the index for this period. We know that a John Lynch *of Dublin* recanted in Dublin on 23 October 1747. If the latter was the Galway banker, as it is quite possible, then there was no need to speak of a private recantation. And lastly the tame explanation of faith deferred for business reasons could deceive only the most unwary. At all events, hopes of mass conversions in Galway were to be rudely shattered, as the next ten years (1748–1758) brought in an average of less than six per annum to the established church in that county. Significantly enough, some of these " converts "—as the Blakes, Burkes and Kirwans—had already been preceded by members of their families in the previous four decades.

Before 1752 only 1878 persons had made their submission, real or feigned, to the Protestant church in Ireland. During the next twenty-one years the number of registered converts is 2,177. In other words the average number of converts per annum for this period is treble the average number per annum prior to 1752. This is the more remarkable when we recall that the harsher provisions of the penal laws, if not actually repealed, had begun to fall into desuetude from the middle of the century onwards. Catholic landlords had now less to fear from the discoverer than throughout the first quarter of the century. Priest-hunting and ' discovering ' had come to be regarded with loathing by the Protestant landlord classes. Accusations of priest-hunting would now be regarded as libellous, while the courts made the process of discovering so expensive that this parasite class came to regard their game no longer worth the candle. The penal laws cannot therefore be blamed as sole cause for the increase in perversions after the middle of the century. According to Lecky, these "converts" consisted chiefly of the sons of the landlords who had been educated abroad. Catholic education and religious practice had fallen on evil days in France and young Irishmen, compelled to seek their education outside of Ireland, now became infected with the virus of indifferentism. On their return home they could scarcely be regarded as of the stuff that willingly suffers

persecution for justice sake. In reality these young men were not lost to the church. They had already lost their faith before their return from a now godless France. The index mentions the perversions of about a dozen members of the medical profession who fell away from the faith probably through contacts made on the continent where they received their education. Trinity College, Dublin, accounts for another dozen, although the number may be greater than is indicated by the particulars so sparingly given in the index of the Rolls.

Apostasies amongst the Catholic clergy have always been regarded as happily few. For the century under review only sixty names have been recorded, although it may be taken for granted that the number is somewhat larger. Only three names are recorded before 1749, while the other fifty-seven belong to the years 1751–1799. In many cases it may be pleaded that these fell victims to the indifferentism which they must have experienced during their sojourn on the continent. It is said of the Catholic Primate of Armagh, Archbishop Blake, when informed of the perversion of his nephew the well known Christopher Blake Kirwan, that he exclaimed : " Tut tut, the man never had a religion to lose."

IV

A feature of the eighteenth century perversions that cannot be overlooked in this brief study is that occasioned by mixed marriages. While this is particularly noticeable in the case of women, it is also true of men who renounced their faith. Whatever the evil days to which the Catholic gentry, Gaelic as well as old English, had been reduced, the Cromwellian and Williamite *nouveaux riches* now secure in the comfortable possession of their ill-gotten lands were shrewd enough to perceive that these Catholics possessed one of the unbought graces of life—gentle birth. The fictitious claims of lordly ancestry and hazy references to Domesday Book of most Protestant adventurers in Ireland, with which students of genealogy are today familiar, must have rung hollow and untrue amongst their new neighbours who were traditionally keen to perceive and acknowledge the claims of noble birth. Alliances with the impoverished Catholic aristocracy were not to be spurned. Thus it is that we find melodious and princely names of Gaeldom inharmoniously coupled with strident Cromwellian, or Anglo-Norman names weighty with the lustre of six centuries uneasily juxtaposed with those of erstwhile cockney hucksters or Bristol buccaneers.

A few instances may be found in the Convert Rolls of what may be termed, for particular districts, mass perversions—that is the perversion of a number of people in the same place and at the same time. Thus on the 15 October 1747, twenty-three names of people, chiefly farmers and merchants with their wives, from Clogheen in Co. Tipperary were issued

certificates. Similarly for the Dungannon-Killyman area eleven names of farmers are to be found for the 18 November 1769. In these and other instances, from Mohill (Co. Leitrim) or Clare or Cork there is no evidence of proselytism. We may safely conjecture that they were due to financial pressure from unfriendly Protestant landlords. Incidentally, some of the names from the Clogheen area are typically Cromwellian. This lends support to the claim that many of the Cromwellian soldiers of humbler rank, owing to the intermittent ministrations of the Protestant clergy in many parts of the country, threw in their lot with the Catholics.

A last observation on the entries of the Rolls may be permitted. The final decade of the eighteenth century (1790–1799) witnessed the reception into the Protestant Church of only 95 perverts from Catholicism. Even of this small number, scarcely a dozen are counted after the year 1792. The reason is not far to seek. The work of the Catholic Committee, now twenty years old, had begun to bear fruit. Instructions from London to the puppet Ascendancy Parliament in College Green made it clear that henceforth the Penal Laws (all but the law barring Catholics from a seat in Parliament) were in abeyance. Catholics now had the electoral franchise, could sit on grand juries, could adopt the law as a profession. With these and other rights, the Penal Code was for all practical purposes dead and buried.

The Penal Code failed to win Ireland from the Catholic Faith. The gains made amongst the Catholic population for the Protestant and alien church were few and unrepresentative of Catholic society as a whole. Even of those who fell away many of their descendents found their way back into the church of their fathers. A letter of the Protestant Bishop of Clonfert, which received much publicity and *favourable* comment in the press (then exclusively Protestant) in the spring of 1787, may be quoted as an indication of the mind of the Protestant church with regard to the conversion of Catholics : " What I have endeavoured to do in my diocese, ever since my appointment, is this. There are twenty Catholics (*sic*) to one Protestant in it. To attempt their conversion or think of making them read protestant books would be in vain. I have therefore circulated amongst them some of the best of their own authors . . . Unable to make the peasants about me good Protestants, I wish to make them good Catholics, good citizens, good anything."

FRANCIS FINEGAN

THE ZAMBESI MISSION

BY CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

IN the course of his travels up the Zambesi Livingstone came across the remains of an ancient Catholic mission near the mouth of the Loangwa river : " The chapel, near which lies a broken bell, commands a glorious view of the two noble rivers, the green fields, the undulating forest, the pleasant hills, and the magnificent mountains in the distance .... It is an utter ruin now and desolation broods around ....." Years after Livingstone's death his words inspired Father Weld, Director of the Zambesi Mission, to write : " The vision of what was, and still more of what might have been, is a powerful incentive to foster the seed that still remains, to plant again what has been uprooted, to rebuild the ruined walls of the church and cause that bell again to send forth its summons to prayer."

I

More than three centuries had passed since the first seeds of Christianity were planted in that part of Africa. In 1559 the Portuguese Jesuit, Father Gonzalez de Silveira, Provincial at Goa, heard from a Dominican father who had passed through Mozambique on his way to India, that the Makaranga tribe were asking for a missionary. Accompanied by Andreas Fernando and Andreas Costa, Jesuit priest and brother respectively, he set out for the east coast of Africa. Leaving his companions to work among the natives at the mouth of the Zambesi, Father de Silveira made a journey of some hundreds of miles on foot into the interior—to the country lying between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers, then the Empire of Monomotapa. Success greeted him at first. He was enabled to baptise the king and many of his chiefs, and his preaching found favour with the court. Then Mohammedan traders, fearful of his influence, persuaded the king that he was a Portuguese spy, and he was put to death in 1561. The king ordered that his body be thrown into the river, but a well authenticated tradition lingered among the natives that it was miraculously preserved on an island of the Zambesi.

For a time Father de Silveira's work was continued south of the Zambesi by Spanish Dominicans, and Jesuits missions existed at Sena and Tete up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. But in the interior the chapels fell into ruins, darkness descended once more on the Zambesi and surrounding territory until Livingstone began his great explorations in 1840. He opened up the vast unknown territory about the Zambesi and the great Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika. As Livingstone began his explorations as a medical missionary, it was only natural that

the interest or zeal of other Protestant missionaries should be awakened. And so we find the London Missionary Society sending its members to set up stations along the trail blazed by Livingstone.

In view of these developments it now became a matter of urgency that the abandoned Zambesi Mission should be re-established. This took place in 1877 when Pope Leo XIII entrusted the task to the Jesuits, who had been in the Cape for two years and had founded a missionary college at Grahamstown. Father Weld was given charge of the new mission ; and Father Depelchin, a Belgian with eighteen years' experience in India, was appointed its leader. " I know that this Mission will cost much labour and even many lives," the Holy Father told Father Depelchin, to whom he gave an audience in 1878. " That is why I have chosen to send you there, and why I give you my best blessing." To mark his deep interest and his understanding of the dangers involved he bestowed a Plenary Indulgence at the hour of death on all those who were to die on the Mission.

The new mission, which embraced an area of some 900,000 square miles, included Matabeleland and Mashonaland south of the Zambesi and, north of it, Barotseland. On 16 April 1879, the party of eleven —four Belgian, three German, two English and two Italian—led by Father Augustus Law, convert and ex-naval lieutenant, left Grahamstown for the Zambesi, over a thousand miles away. They travelled in four waggons, drawn by fifty-eight magnificent oxen in teams of fourteen and sixteen. At Kimberley, which they reached on May 11, they were joined by their Superior who had gone ahead in order to obtain from the Governor, Sir Bartley Frere, letters of recommendation to the native chiefs. The missionaries were given a heartening welcome by the Catholics of the diamond fields, who loaded them with gifts and presented the Superior with a purse of money " as a token of sympathy with the grand and glorious work to which you have devoted yourself ".

Father Depelchin hoped to establish a mission at Shoshong, the first town within the territory assigned to them as the scene of their labours. It was halfway between Grahamstown and their ultimate objective, the Zambesi, and would be for them a link with the world they had left. But when they arrived at Shoshong, they found the London Missionary Society already in possession ; and their request to be allowed to remain there was peremptorily refused by Khama, Chief of the Bamangwato tribe. There was no alternative but to push on to Bulawayo, two-hundred-and-fifty miles to the north-east, where Lo Bengula, King of the Matabeles, had his kraal.

The hardships and privations of a journey already sufficiently hazardous were now doubled. The missionaries suffered fierce heat by day, intense cold by night, with icy winds and rain that penetrated the canvas covers of the waggons. Scarcity of water was their greatest anxiety,

particularly crossing the Kalahari desert where treks of ten and twelve hours had to be made. In some places water could be obtained only by digging in the beds of dry rivers. The waggon wheels frequently sank up to their axles in the sand, and much time was spent unloading and loading before further progress could be made. Then there was the constant danger of thunderstorms, which were a frequent occurrence. Father Depelchin gives an unforgettable picture of one such storm: "The mountains trembled. The waggons seemed to be always on the point of turning turtle; we could neither see nor hear one another. The defenceless oxen bowed their heads; our Kaffirs crouched down next to us near the fire, completely unmanned, while the lightning forked through the inky clouds or poured over them in streams, nay, seas of fire. Meanwhile we could not forget that we were sitting on the community's supply of gunpowder"—which, if struck by lightning, would explode with disastrous results.

There was consolation in the joy with which they were received by the scattered Catholics in the towns through which they passed. Many of these Catholics had not seen a priest for years. Their worldly possessions were few; but what they had they generously shared with the Missionaries.

At last, in August, the Missionaries reached Bulawayo, having left some of their party at a temporary station at Tati, at the juncture of the roads to Bulawayo and the Upper Zambesi. Father Depelchin and Father Law obtained an audience with Lo Bengula without much difficulty; but not until October were they granted formal permission to settle in his territory. This permission was, however, given only on the strict understanding that they should not preach the gospel to his people, but should confine themselves to instructing them in better methods of industry. The missionaries had no alternative but to agree. To attempt to reach the Zambesi, their ultimate goal, in the rainy season was out of the question. At least they had obtained a base from which they could communicate with Grahamstown. Moreover, it was essential to retain the good will of the Matabele Chief, whose sway was absolute—not only over his own people but over the Mashona and those lesser tribes of what had once been the Empire of Monomotapa.

But the prospect was hardly favourable. The Matabele were a warrior tribe, slaves to witchcraft, polygamists, and completely subject to Lo Bengula, who had no intention of allowing the introduction of Christianity. He boasted that the Protestant missionaries had not had a single convert in twenty years, and he made it quite clear that the Catholics should have no greater success. Months of waiting and of hoping went by, during which one of the pioneers, Father Fuchs, died of malaria. Then, with the end of the rainy season, came reinforcements from the coast, most of them Dutch missionaries.

II

Leaving these new arrivals at Bulawayo, Father Depelchin and Father Law set out to break new ground. The former's destination was the unknown territory north of the Zambesi; while the latter resolved to make north-east for the land of Umzila, Chief of the Abagaza. Members of this tribe whom they had met at the court of Lo Bengula had given the missionaries reason to expect that they would be welcomed.

With Father Wehl and two Brothers, one English and one Belgian, Father Law began a journey that was to be one series of disasters. From the moment they entered the territory of the Mashona they were surrounded by hostile natives, and their lives and property were threatened at every step. Then Father Wehl wandered away from the rest of his party and did not return. After searching for three days without success, his companions were obliged to conclude that he had been killed by the Mashona. To save their own lives and, by doing so, to ensure the future of their mission, Father Law resolved that they should abandon the waggon and make their way secretly and on foot to the kraal of Umzila, where they hoped to find protection.

The three men escaped by night, carrying with them the sacred vessels and a few necessities. It took three weeks—weeks of hunger, thirst, and fever—to walk the one-hundred-and-seventy miles to Umzila's kraal. Here they met with disappointment. There were no Portuguese nor Europeans of any kind there, as they had been led to expect, nor any means of getting supplies from the coast. Umzila did not repulse them, but suggested that they return to get their waggon taking with them an escort of natives to inflict punishment on the Mashona. Brother de Sadeleer was the only one of the three fit to make the journey. The waggon was found intact; for the marauders feared the vengeance of Umzila, whom they knew would be informed by the missionaries of the reason for their flight. The Brother was anxious to return at once to his companions; but much against his will he was obliged to stay where he was, while Umzila's natives sought revenge on the Mashona tribe.

Meanwhile the two Englishmen, Father Law and Brother Hedley, were virtual prisoners. After the first few weeks Umzila ignored their demands for proper food. Ill with fever and dysentery they lay side by side in a hut, their only attendant a native woman. Unable to eat the native food, which was all that was given them, they suffered a martyrdom of slow starvation. Father Law's Journal, which he kept until he could no longer write, makes poignant reading. With perfect resignation he faced death, alone save for the faithful Brother, cut off from all help, deprived of the medicine that could save his life, his mission a failure after eighteen months of hardship during which he had not seen one conversion.

They had reached the kraal of Umzila on the 31st August 1879. On the 15th October Father Law, so weak that he had to be supported

by a rope slung across the hut, said his last Mass. More than another month of suffering lay before him and then on the 25th November, in his forty-eighth year, he died—another martyr in the land where the Ven. Gonzalez de Silveira had met his death in 1561.

Brother Hedley survived, and he persuaded the natives to carry him back to the waggon where Brother de Sadeleer was waiting with Father Wehl, who had been found by an English traveller. The missionary, exhausted by the hardships he had endured while lost in the forest, never recovered full health and died six months later.

Meanwhile Father Depelchin and his companions had been making an equally abortive effort to establish a mission north of the Zambesi. They reached Victoria Falls on 12th July 1880, and the following day Mass was said for the first time in that region. Then they went on to the territory across the river, inhabited by the Batangos in the east and by the Barotse in the west. Their reception by the Chief of the former tribe was sufficiently favourable to enable them to build themselves a hut, where Father Depelchin left Father Teroerdre and a Brother, while he himself went further to Barotseland. He had not gone many days when the treacherous Batanga Chief poisoned Father Teroerdre.

III

The mission to the Barotse proved equally unsuccessful, and by 1884 it was evident that all hope of converting either tribe had gone. War broke out between them, and the mission north of the river had to be abandoned. The Zambesi Mission was now joined to the older Cape Colony Mission ; and Father Weld, its Superior, decided not to risk the loss of more lives but rather to consolidate the position already gained at Bulawayo. Lo Bengula had not changed his attitude towards the missionaries, but in 1887 he gave them a grant of land at Empandeni, near Bulawayo, on which the first native school was established.

The rising tide of political troubles was for a time to disturb the progress of the mission, but was to be of ultimate benefit to it. In 1888 Rhodes seeking expansion for the Empire and freedom for industrial development, made a treaty with Lo Bengula whereby the British were given " complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals " in his territories. A year later the British South Africa Company came into being. A pioneer column to occupy Mashonaland was organised ; and the Matabele King, fearing disorders, ordered all whites to leave Matabeleland. The missionaries were obliged to obey ; but they returned the following year as military chaplains, bringing with them Dominican Sisters to help the sick and wounded. These arrived at Port Salisbury in 1891 and set up a hospital.

With the coming of white settlers the work of the missionaries was increased and expanded, work which had moreover full sympathy and co-operation from Rhodes. There were Europeans now as well as natives

to look after ; churches, schools and hospitals to be established in the new towns. Rhodes presented the mission with land at Chishawasha, fifteen miles from Salisbury, where a wattle and daub hut chapel was built. Later a mission farm was set up here but had to be abandoned temporarily during the native revolt of 1896. A fine church took the place of the hut chapel in 1902, and in the cemetery there rests the body of Father Law. It was discovered twenty-four years after his death when a native pointed out the grave to Father Prestage.

The end of the Matabele War and the downfall of the all powerful Lo Bengula re-opened the southern province to the missionaries. The first church, a chapel hut, was built at Bulawayo, and the Dominican Sisters set up a tent and hut hospital. The missionaries of the Zambesi had been marking time for fourteen years—years during which, owing to fever and the hazards of travel, they seemed to be losing more workers than they made converts. But now they were to make a fresh beginning. The Zambesi Mission was attached to the English Jesuit Province, with Father Schomberg Kerr as its Superior. Like Father Law a convert and ex-naval man, he was well fitted by nature to deal with the recently appointed authorities and to direct the rapidly expanding Mission.

In the succeeding decade many new churches were built, and those already in existence replaced by edifices of brick and stone. The Boer War meant years of stagnation and inactivity, but with the turn of the century the Zambesi Mission might be considered to have left the pioneer period. The Dominican Sisters, who had won undying fame for their hospital work, took over the task of founding schools, especially among the white population. The Sisters of Notre Dame opened coloured schools in Southern Rhodesia, and the Sisters of the Precious Blood—an Order founded expressly for work among the Africans—opened schools in Northern Rhodesia.

IV

Following the expulsion of the religious orders from Mozambique in 1910, Polish Jesuits had obtained permission to cross the frontier and settle in Northern Rhodesia. During the first World War, when communication with Poland was cut off, these missionaries were completely thrown on their own resources and, to support themselves, turned shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, and watchmakers. But after the war their mission flourished, especially among the white people working on the railways, and in 1927 it became the Prefecture of Lusaka. A link with Ireland was forged when in 1946 two Jesuits left this country in answer to an appeal from the Polish Jesuits of the Prefecture of Lusaka. Two more went out in 1948, and at the same time the Irish Sisters of Charity established their first mission in Africa. Three Sisters are doing school and hospital work at Chikuni in the same Prefecture, and will be shortly joined by two more.

At Lusaka, capital of Northern Rhodesia, there is a large number of Catholics, many of them Irish, and it is hoped to replace in the near future the present " church "—two rooms in the Priests' House—with a building adequate for the increasing congregation.

For fifty years since the abandonment in 1882 of the mission to the Barotse and Batango tribes north of the Zambesi no Catholic missionary was allowed to settle in this region. Nominally in charge of the Polish Jesuits of the Lusaka Prefecture, it was in fact an unknown land ; for the Chief, Yeta, forbade the entrance of Catholic missionaries, though the London Missionary Society had already obtained a footing there. In 1930 however came an appeal from the Catholic schoolmaster of Barotse National School at Mongu, headquarters of the Provincial Commissioner. Barotseland is an independent territory under the protection of the British. It is a native reserve with no large European settlements, the white population being mainly composed of the workers on the tobacco plantations.

Formal permission to establish a mission in his territory being at last obtained from Yeta, this vast area of nearly seventy thousand square miles was given to the charge of the Irish Capuchins. In 1931 a party of missionaries left for Barotseland to undertake what was generally regarded as one of the most difficult mission fields in Africa. At Livingstone they found little signs of Catholicity. Mass was said, when it was possible, at the Court House or eight miles away at Victoria Falls. The missionaries made their headquarters at Livingstone ; and in 1933 the present fine church, built in great part by Irish generosity, was opened. After many months of trekking in ox-waggons and lumber trains another mission was established in 1932 at Loanja. But so fierce was the opposition from Chiefs, natives, and Protestant missionaries that five years passed before the first twelve converts were baptised.

To-day there are three thousand Catholics and six thousand catechumens in the Prefecture Apostolic of Victoria Falls. There are nine stations and over one hundred schools. The Capuchin Fathers are helped by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, who work in a hospital and a leper settlement. Some of these Sisters have come from Ireland.

In 1931 the Mission in Southern Rhodesia was divided. The Vicariate of Bulawayo was entrusted to the Mariannhill Missionaries, offshoot of the Trappists, who had been working with the Jesuits for many years. The latter have charge of the Salisbury Vicariate. A little larger than England and Wales the Vicariate has a Catholic population of 36,000 with over seventy priests, including Carmelite Fathers from Ireland and two native priests.

Rhodesia is well served by its missionaries, and of these Ireland has provided and continues to provide no inconsiderable number.

CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

ELIZABETH ANN SETON

BY ISABEL C. CLARKE

WHEN Robert Louis Stevenson made his tour with a donkey, Modeste in the Cevennes he was entertained for a short period by the Trappist monks of Our Lady of the Snows in the hills of Gévaudan. He was admitted with apparent reluctance to that austere abode, for he had some difficulty in convincing the Prior that he was not a pedlar, since his luggage consisted only of a pack tied to the back of his donkey. Having at last persuaded him that he was a Scottish author, he was allotted a room for the night in that part of the monastery relegated to retreatants. It was, he noted, scrupulously clean with whitewashed walls, but it was furnished only with the barest necessaries. A Crucifix hung on the walls; there was a bust of the late Pontiff—Pius IX—and two books, a French translation of the *Imitation* and the Life of Mother Seton—Evangelist, as he remarked, of North America and of New England in particular. It is regrettable to record that as a bed-book Stevenson found it unsatisfying, though he was able to "quiet his spirits" with it before falling asleep. "A dull work," was his comment, and he amused himself with picturing a meeting between Mother Seton and Cotton Mather—an evangelist but of a very different faith and calibre—and uniting their voices in another world in the "everlasting psalm". A dull work? An author of Stevenson's experience should have had more flair to discern the flame-like quality that characterized the earthly career of Mother Seton. No history of a human soul or the tracing, step by step, of a spiritual pilgrimage can surely ever be dull.

I

Until the passing of their Constitution the American people did not enjoy that liberty of religious thought so recently enumerated among the Four Freedoms; indeed it is said that George Washington forbade the celebration of Mass except in one obscure Catholic church in Philadelphia. And we have only to read the life of Elizabeth Seton to realize that, in the early days of the nineteenth century, the lot of the convert was hard and stony. Prejudice against the Catholic Church was rife across the Atlantic at that time, and it would seem that a kind of stigma was supposed to be attached to the convert—an attitude not unknown in our own day.

From the welter of that early intolerance there emerges the figure of a young and beautiful woman, Elizabeth Ann Bayley, who as Mother Seton was destined to found a system of Catholic education of far-reaching importance, as well as to bring to her country the order of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul with all its attendant works of mercy for

the young and for the sick. She will live in all probability as one of the first North American saints, since her cause is already under consideration. Her gigantic work lives after her, as does that of Saint Madeleine Sophie Barat.

Born in 1774 Elizabeth was of mixed English and French blood, her father, Richard Bayley, being of Huguenot descent. Elizabeth's French blood was confessed in her brilliant brown eyes and in her abundant dark hair. As a girl she was considered one of the most beautiful in the New York of that day, a reputation which is certainly corroborated by her early portraits. She was only sixteen when she attracted the admiration of William Seton, who by reason of his good looks and great wealth was regarded as one of the most eligible *partis* of the day. They were married a few months before Elizabeth's twentieth birthday, her young husband being about six years older. The existing miniatures portray a singularly handsome couple, and they possessed the promise of as fair a future as could possibly be desired. There was no hint of coming tragedy, still less of any suggestion that the young and lovely bride would be called upon to fulfil a hard and exacting mission in an environment completely removed from the worldly Protestant atmosphere which saw the propitious inauguration of her married life.

William Seton, the son of a Scottish merchant, was born at sea. As a lad he had been sent to Leghorn to learn the business of banking in the well-known firm of Filicchi, who were shipowners as well as bankers and possessed considerable interest in America—one of them having married an American lady. They were extremely wealthy and, in addition to their residence at Leghorn, had also acquired the Palazzo Lanfranchi at Pisa which housed Lord Byron in the early eighteen-twenties.

While Elizabeth led the normal existence of a rich man's wife, bearing him five children in the eight years of their marriage, there were many signs to indicate that she possessed also that secret spiritual life which so often characterizes the future saint. Her Protestant unbringing had taught her little of dogma, still less of the Sacraments since she did not receive communion in the episcopal church till she was twenty-eight years old. But despite her ignorance she wore a crucifix, bowed her head at the Holy Name, read the *Imitation*, and as a child would hasten from church to church on Sunday mornings in order to hear the words of the Absolution after the recital of the general confession by the congregation. It was as though she were prompted by some dimly foreshadowed apprehension of the Sacrament of Penance.

II

The first trial came upon the young couple with the death of William's father in 1798, when it was discovered that he had left his family on the verge of financial ruin. William bore these successive blows with silent

fortitude, though his wife was distressed by the " stillness of despair " which, in her own words, he displayed. But he was already extremely ill and the shock aggravated his malady. A later portrait forms a strange and tragic contrast to the one executed at the time of his marriage a few years previously, since it has all the appearance of being that of an elderly man.

As long as Richard Bayley lived he was able to come to the rescue of, his daughter ; but he lost his life in 1801 when he attended, at great personal risk, a group of plague-stricken Irish immigrants perishing in a ship in New York harbour. He contracted the disease himself, which in his case proved immediately fatal. Thenceforth the circumstances of the Setons were additionally straitened since Richard Bayley was not able to bequeath anything to his favourite daughter.

William's health worsened, and he was devoured by nostalgia for those Italian scenes he had known in his youth. The sunshine and mild airs of Tuscany seemed to beckon to him now that health and fortune were at their lowest ebb ; and with the characteristic restlessness of the tuberculous patient he resolved to go to Leghorn, where he could count upon a warm welcome from his old friends. Everything was, therefore, arranged. The four younger children were left with relations and only Anna, afterwards known as Annina, accompanied her parents on that tragic pilgrimage. They sailed in the *Shepherdess* in October 1803, arriving at Leghorn in the following November.

From that time they had to endure a dreary and often sordid martyrdom, for which their former luxurious life could have but ill-prepared them. The first indication of calamity was offered by Elizabeth's half-brother Carlton who came to meet the ship. " Don't touch me ", he implored, staving off his sister's eager affectionate greeting and holding himself aloof from that little group of sick and weary travellers. The *Shepherdess* brought news of an epidemic of yellow fever in New York ; consequently no one was permitted to land in Italy without undergoing a scheduled period of rigorous quarantine in the prison-like Lazaretto whither travellers from plague-stricken countries were flung often with fatal results. The Setons were conveyed to this tragic spot in an open boat to which William, being too weak to walk, had to be carried. There was little in this grim episode to remind him of the Italy he had left and which he had known and loved, the Tuscany which he had hoped, with the invincible optimism of the tuberculous patient, might effect his cure. Had any hope remained to him, it must have been shattered by the first sight of that unforgiving-looking building washed by the Tyrrhenian sea and exposed to the shriek of the autumn winds, the roaring of the waves . . . .

Its interior did nothing to belie the formidable nature of its outward aspect. With its high arched ceiling, white-washed walls and brick floor their room was bitterly cold on that November night. Touched by their

forlorn appearance the Capitano, as the governor was called, took pity on these American travellers and sent them some eggs, slices of bread and a bottle of wine, contributing what little he could to their relief. But William was almost too ill to eat. " He has had a violent fit of coughing ", Elizabeth wrote to his sister Rebecca, " so as to bring up blood, which agitates and distresses him through all his endeavours to hide it. This is the hour of trial. The Lord support and strengthen us ".

It was bitterly cold ; for they had for heating only a small brazier with charcoal fire, the fumes of which increased William's cough. Little Anna tried to keep herself warm by skipping. Thanks to the Filicchi some dinner was sent to them, and an old man, Luigi, arrived to cook for them and wait upon them. Not much, however, could be done to mitigate the comfortless misery of the Lazaretto.

Elizabeth's patience and devotion to her sick husband, her resignation in that hour of trial, were not lost upon the Capitano. She was not, as he knew, a Catholic ; yet her piety was of the kind he was accustomed to associate with professed religious. Her submission to the Will of God was complete. She made no complaint. Her practically sleepless nights were spent in prayer and in a ceaseless endeavour to bring some modicum of comfort to her dying husband. She could even thank God " for these days of retirement and seclusion from the world which have afforded opportunity for so blessed a work ". She heard the Ave Maria ring at sunset, to be followed an hour later by the De Profundis bell calling to prayer for the souls in purgatory, as she records in her journal ; so that she had evidently acquired so much knowledge of Catholic custom, and it may have been that the little seed of faith had already been planted in her heart.

Day by day she saw William gradually perish. His lofty room with its high damp walls, penetrated by icy airs from the Mediterranean, filled with the sound of shrill winds and beating waves, had indeed little resemblance to the dreams he had cherished of Italy. Elizabeth had few remedies with which to relieve his sufferings, except some warm milk and an occasional opium pill to induce sleep. " Prayer ", she wrote to her beloved sister-in-law, Rebecca, " is all my comfort ; without it I should be of little service to him. Night and day he calls me his life, his soul, his dearest of women, his all . . . . ".

Release from this imprisonment came a few weeks later when just before Christmas the Setons moved to Pisa, which had then a considerable reputation for the alleviation of tuberculosis by reason of its mild climate and the healing balsamic airs emanating from the vast pine forests that stretched away to Maremma and the sea. But these curative factors could be of little use to the dying man, and the end came a few days later. Elizabeth, who had not lain down for two nights and had eaten no food for more than a day, was obliged to return to Leghorn, a fifteen-mile

drive, to arrange for the funeral which according to law must take place within twenty-four hours. William Seton was buried in the Protestant cemetery at Leghorn, and after the funeral Elizabeth and Anna went to stay with the Filicchi in their vast palace overlooking the sea until such time as the *Shepherdess* should sail for America. It had been one of William's last actions to place his wife and child under the protection of the ship's captain, O'Brien.

III

It was here in Leghorn that Elizabeth had her first unforgettable glimpse of intimate Catholic family life. Dressed as an Italian widow in the plain black gown and little close bonnet from which flowed a long crêpe veil, she could be seen daily kneeling in the private chapel during the celebration of Mass. She was present too, when the family assembled in the evening for the recitation of the Rosary; for Antonio and his wife, Amabilia Filicchi, were devout practising Catholics. Elizabeth was not slow to recognize that the Sacrifice of the Mass played an all-important part in their daily life. From them she learned to make the Sign of the Cross and was imbued with a growing love for and devotion to the Blessed Virgin. And above all they taught her the sublime mystery of the Blessed Sacrament, the Real Presence within the tabernacle of the Altar. Those who have been reared in the Faith can hardly appreciate the profound significance to a receptive heart of that first spiritual contact, so often to be followed by a blinding illumination not attributable to any human agency. Did it assume to Elizabeth Seton a direct challenge—a call possessing in its mystical appeal an irresistible violence impossible to withstand? For we find her writing to Rebecca about that time the following highly significant words: "How happy we should be if we believed what these good souls believe, that they possess God in their Sacrament and that He remains in their churches and is carried to them when they are sick. When they carry the Blessed Sacrament under my window, while I feel the full loneliness and sadness of my case, I cannot stop the tears at the thought".

Nor was the nine-year-old child Annina less impressed than her mother. She begged to be taught the Hail Mary, with which the recitation of the Rosary had made her familiar; she would ask whether they would not attend a Catholic church in America. It was evident that she was re-acting quite as profoundly as her mother to the Catholic atmosphere of the Filicchi household.

Their sojourn in Leghorn was prolonged by the severe illness of little Annina contracted when they attempted to sail in the *Shepherdess*. A storm constrained the ship to put back to port, and by this time Annina was so ill that the doctors assured Elizabeth she would die if forced to

resume the voyage in her present state. A return to the Filicchi palace was thus inevitable. When Annina was on the way to recovery Elizabeth fell a victim to the same malady, which seems to have been scarlet fever, and during this period the *Shepherdess* returned to America without them. It was then January, and it was not until early in April that the mother and daughter began their homeward voyage in the *Flamingo*. Antonio Filicchi, fearing danger from pirates and hostile cruisers since there was War between Britain and France at that time, resolved to accompany them. During the voyage he instructed Elizabeth in the doctrine and dogma of the Catholic Church with such success that he was afterwards able to tell her: "When you left me, no doubts remained in your mind".

The return to the old atmosphere, so antagonistic to all that she had lately learned to love, did for a time actually retard Elizabeth's conversion. Sorrow upon sorrow was heaped upon her, for her "soul-sister" Rebecca Seton was dangerously ill when she arrived and died in her arms a few weeks later. She was faced too by grave financial problems, since she now learned of the complete failure of the Setons' business and of her own consequent poverty. Her five young children must look to her for support, and to become a Catholic would deprive her of all assistance from their relations. For herself she would have had no fears, but to involve her children in possible hardship and privation was a prospect before which she naturally quailed. She had had no training for any profession, and in those days few careers were open to women save those of teaching and nursing. Those weeks must have been grim ones for Elizabeth, since she was completely cut off from all the spiritual comfort and help she had known in Italy—the chapel with the Blessed Sacrament, the daily Mass, the recitation of the Rosary, the pious example of people who had known and loved the Faith from their earliest years. It must have sometimes seemed to her that she had lost these things for ever.

Meantime it leaked out that she had "leanings". She was scrupulously watched. Books and pamphlets against the Catholic Church were showered upon her, especially from her quondam clergyman friend, Mr. Hobart. Torn between her Faith and the prospect of poverty for her children should she become a Catholic, there did undoubtedly supervene a very bleak period in Elizabeth's life; and it was then that Antonio Filicchi's fears were sharply aroused. "I lament very much", he wrote, "your imprudence and mine. Yours for having resisted the light that had shown you the precipice before your feet; mine for having exposed you to it by moderating your first zeal". He was alarmed and justifiably so, but as an Italian and a Catholic he could hardly have foreseen the kind of pressure that would be brought to bear to deter Elizabeth and at a moment when her temporal fortunes were at their lowest ebb and the future of her children at stake.

But Antonio's stern words bore fruit, although it was not until eight

months later, in February 1805, that Elizabeth attended Mass in the Church of St. Peter in New York. It was Ash Wednesday, and at the conclusion of Mass she sought the priest in the sacristy and announced her desire to be received into the Church. Her reception took place on March 15th and she made her First Communion on the Feast of the Annunciation. What this meant to her, after that bitter period of waiting and procrastination, can be gathered from her very beautiful letter to Amabilia Filicchi. " At last, Amabilia, at last, God is mine and I am His. Now let all earthly things go as they will. I have received Him. My God, to the last breath of my life I will remember this night of watching for the break of day ".

IV

There must be few converts who at least during the dramatic moment of submission, have not asked as did St. Paul: " Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? " Conscious as never before of their own worthlessness, they must yet be aware that some special work, however humble and obscure, awaits implementation at their feeble human hands. And some have even thought to hear His Mother's voice saying: " Whatsoever He shall say to you that do ye . . . .". To Elizabeth, however, her duty must have seemed perfectly clear. She must work to support her five children and to bring them up as faithful Catholics; nor did she doubt that strength and opportunity to accomplish this by no means light task would be granted to her. Indeed, as we shall see, the strength and opportunity to accomplish greater things will be granted to her. She was in fact a chosen vessel for the propagation of the Catholic Faith in America. That she was ready when the moment came is proved by her act of humble submission to the Divine Will on the day of her First Communion: " Now let all earthly things go as they will ".

In the following year a priest from Baltimore, Father du Bourg, was called to New York on business. He noticed Elizabeth at Mass and was struck by something unusual in her appearance. Meeting her subsequently at the parish house—by which time it is possible that he had learned something of her history—he forthwith invited her to come to Baltimore and assist him in the founding of a Catholic school. At first nothing more came of it; but two years later she embarked, with her three little girls, for that city. By that time the Filicchi, with their characteristic generosity, had made themselves responsible for the education of her boys and had placed them in a Catholic college.

This new prospect offered every hope of success. A house had been rented for Elizabeth in Paca Street, and the work would not only enable her to support her little girls but would save them also from the dangers that threatened them. She was warmly welcomed on arrival by two French ladies, Madame du Bourg and Madame Fournier, respectively

the mother and sister of the priest. It was also arranged that her sons, William and Richard Seton, should spend their vacations in the adjoining seminary of St. Mary. Nothing indeed could have been more normal or more propitious, yet still with no hint of what was to spring from that humble and obscure beginning.

It was here in Paca Street that Elizabeth opened her school for girls; but not many months passed before it was evident that yet another work was to be thrust upon her. A young and beautiful girl, Cecilia O'Conway, came to Baltimore to be placed under her spiritual guidance. She had a very pronounced religious vocation and wished to become a nun; but owing to the disturbed state of Europe, then in the throes of the Napoleonic wars, it was impossible for her to enter a foreign convent, the normal course for such aspirants. Soon another so-called postulant arrived, Mary Murphy from Philadelphia, and she was followed by yet two more. It was a highly anomalous situation, since these five women were leading the life of nuns without rule or affiliation to any existing order. Indeed we have no clue as to whether Elizabeth had ever entertained any idea of entering the religious life—believing perhaps that, as the mother of five young children, she would be precluded from doing so. Both Bishop Carroll and Father du Bourg strongly felt that something must be done about it, and they decided to unite the little group into a definite community. Elizabeth was ever ready to obey, and aware that these young girls had been sent to her to train for the religious life she accepted without demur the rôle of Mother Superior. They took simple vows, calling themselves the Sisters of St. Joseph and adopting the dress of an Italian widow such as was worn by certain nuns in Italy, a black dress with a little cape and the close-fitting bonnet to which was now added a muslin frill. Many of the Sisters of Charity still wear a similar headdress in the States in memory of their Foundress; others have donned the well-known white cornette of the French congregation to which all now belong.

On the Feast of Corpus Christi, always especially dear to Elizabeth, the little community attended Mass in public for the first time. Mother Seton, now thirty-five years of age, was by many years the oldest of the group.

V

It had been the desire of the refugee French priests from St. Sulpice to found a school for Catholics directed by nuns in Baltimore. Elizabeth had also long wished to assist the children of the poor as she was now educating those of the well-to-do; she had even prayed for this intention, but lack of funds seemed to be the chief difficulty. Thus a gift made at this juncture by a wealthy convert, Samuel Cooper, seemed to her of profound significance. He was about to enter the priesthood and now proposed to give a piece of land at Emmitsburg, with a building euphemis-

tically described as a house, for this very educational purpose. Thither the Sisters of St. Joseph now planned to go; but before their departure two more postulants arrived and these were soon followed by William Seton's two sisters, Cecilia and Harriet. Harriet was not as yet a Catholic but refused to be parted from her sister who was even then perishing of tuberculosis. Mother Seton accepted this additional charge without demur. These two girls had always been particularly dear to her, Cecilia having become a Catholic soon after her own return from Italy.

There were at that time only three religious houses in America which could serve as retreats for pious women and girls, the chief being that of the Ursulines at New Orleans, while the other two were respectively under the Carmelites and the nuns of the Visitation.

After a few weeks spent in the utmost discomfort in a temporary abode provided for them at Emmitsburg, the little community moved to the stone house on the property which had now been made ready for them. It was a small building consisting only of one storey, and with the arrival of the sisters from Baltimore its inmates now numbered sixteen. Having decided to take as their model the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, it was necessary to procure a copy of the Rule from the Mother House in France. At first it was hoped that two sisters from the Bordeaux house would be able to make the voyage to America to instruct the new community in their Rule. This was not however possible as they were forbidden to leave France. Unlike other religious they were permitted, even compelled, to remain in order to nurse the sick and wounded. It was not until 1810 that the community at Emmitsburg received a copy of the Constitution and Rule, which they immediately adopted.

But now a new and apparently insuperable difficulty arose. It seemed natural that Mother Seton should be nominated superior of the growing community which owed so much to her energy and initiative; but at the same time the rules concerning widows who wished to enter seemed to exclude her altogether. Such women, on entering, must first arrange all their temporal affairs in such manner as to have no further anxiety in their regard. Mother Seton had never permitted anything to come between herself and the needs of her five children; she believed that her first duty was to them. She was prepared, she told the Archbishop of Baltimore in a letter, to make any sacrifice he considered consistent with her first and inseparable obligations as a mother. " My dear children have the first claim and it will ever remain inviolable ". Dear as her present work was to her, she was even prepared to renounce it and begin the world again with her three little girls. There was no one to whom she could entrust those young souls without danger to their faith. By this time Harriet and Cecilia were both dead, Harriet having become a Catholic shortly after her arrival at Emmitsburg. Communication with France at that

period was difficult and uncertain, and it was not until 1812 that the Constitution and Rule were formally presented to the Sisters for their adoption. An exception was made in favour of Mother Seton owing to her peculiar circumstances; she was permitted to attend to the interests of her children and to remain their legal guardian. Anna and Rebecca became postulants in her order, and both these children predeceased her, Anna having taken her final vows on her death-bed at the age of sixteen. At the subsequent election the sisters unanimously chose Mother Seton for their Superior.

VI

The privations and hardships that were the lot of that community at Emmitsburg can hardly be described. Often there was not enough to eat and the food was of the poorest quality. Yet postulants continued to arrive although warned beforehand of the conditions prevailing there. No one accepted such hardships with more patient and cheerful resignation than Mother Seton herself; indeed her personal austerities went far beyond the prescribed rule. By 1810 the Sisters already numbered twelve and there was a long waiting list. Indeed for lack of room it was found necessary to send some of them back to Baltimore to establish a new foundation, though Emmitsburg remained the Mother-house. " There is every hope ", Mother Seton wrote, " that it is the seed of an immensity of future good ". But how immense and far-reaching she was never to know in her too-brief life. She was, however, singularly fortunate in her postulants. Nuns and novices co-operated with her whole-heartedly in the work which was now far too great to be dealt with by one woman. There was not only a large school with ever-increasing numbers, but the community also had charge of the religious instruction of all the surrounding country. " All apply to the Sisters of Charity ", Mother Seton wrote; " night and day they are devoted to the sick and ignorant ".

Little more than ten years separated her arrival in Emmitsburg from her death after protracted illness in 1821; yet already the seed of that " immensity of future good ", so well and surely sown, was bearing fruit beyond all expectation. That spiritual history begun all those years ago in Leghorn had culminated in this wonderful apostolate. When the accounts of it reached Italy, how greatly the Filicchi family must have rejoiced at the thought that under God they had been the human instruments of bringing this devout woman into the Church. They must have recalled with joy that it was in their chapel she had first learned of the mysteries of her holy faith, the presence of God in the Blessed Sacrament, the love and veneration that Catholics gave to His Mother. They little imagined at the time that, through her, Catholic education was to spread far and wide throughout the land of her birth, as though she had been deliberately chosen for this profound spiritual purpose.

In a brief biographical sketch such as this there is little scope to dwell upon that inner spiritual life which she combined to the last with the ceaseless activities of her vocation—the children under her care to whom she was a most solicitous mother, the girls and women who came to her to be trained for the religious life—but a phrase of hers reminiscent of her early reading of the *Imitation* may be quoted: "Wretched sinner that I am I know that wherever we meet a little prop of human comfort there is always some subtraction of divine comfort". And surely no one could have served Our Lord with such inexhaustible love, such patient unremitting diligence, such fervent zeal and unquestioning submission, without experiencing the ineffable grace of mystical joy and solace of divine comfort. This must have supported and sustained her through all her griefs and anxieties, so many and so heavy. And as her work grew and prospered, she must have wondered why she, poor and obscure, had been chosen as the foundress of this immense apostolate. "But, Our Lord loves to show His strength in weakness, His wisdom in the ignorant".

Hers was a rule of love. She had nothing of the fierce zeal, the flaming energy of St. Teresa of Avila; these would have been out of place in a new country, largely Protestant in religion, where all effort had to be tactfully achieved. Her own tragic experience of life had taught her sympathy and tolerance. But she did imbue her nuns with that spirit of self-sacrifice and immolation with which she had set about the heavy task allotted to her. Her example inspired the half-hundred Sisters of Charity whom she left behind her with the same selfless devotion which she had ever displayed and which even her departure could not impair or diminish. Indeed if her work had been less surely founded, less abundantly blessed, it must have perished after her premature death. From the day of her First Communion, for which she had prepared by a sleepless night of prayer and vigil, there had been no looking back for Mother Seton. Her profound love of Christ, her complete submission to His Holy Will, had ever characterized her. *Now let all earthly things go their way. At last God is mine and I am His . . . .*

Statistics published some hundred and twenty years after Mother Seton's death speak for themselves: nine thousand living Sisters of Charity of the American congregation, one hundred and sixty High schools and academies, four hundred and forty-seven parochial schools, ninety-one hospitals, sixty schools for the training of nurses, two for deaf mutes and a leper hospital. Healing of the sick, knowledge to the ignorant, the message of the Catholic Church to countless thousands—these were the legacies Mother Seton bequeathed to her country.

ISABEL C. CLARKE

IRELAND AND JACOBITISM

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

I

IN the struggle for kingship in Ireland two hundred and fifty years ago between two foreign princes, a large part of Ulster stood behind William of Orange while the rest of the country rallied to the cause of James the Second. From the division of the nation in its support of the rival factions came an unhappy heritage and tradition. For one thing, in that last decade of the seventeenth century lies the main cause of the partition of Ireland which constitutes an acute national problem in our day and which, before its legal sanction in a foreign Parliament thirty years ago, had been in every generation openly or deviously fostered by foreign politicians. Part of the heritage too was the inception, in Ireland as in Great Britain, of the cult known as Jacobitism, whose aim was the restoration of the Stuarts and which for the succeeding fifty years had repercussions in these countries and in the continent. The failure of the Rising of 1745, when the white flag of the Stuarts went down at Culloden Moor, marked the end of Jacobitism as a serious political force. It did linger as a vague sentiment, a romantic tradition, for long afterwards and as such exists to a small extent up to the present. Three years ago indeed the two hundredth anniversary of the Forty-Five was celebrated in the Scottish Highlands at Glenfinnan, the spot where Prince Charles Edward raised the banner of his House. Thousands of descendants of the clansmen who rallied to him gathered there ; and a descendant of the valiant Cameron of Lochiel, a leader of the Rising, delivered an oration.

In most features Irish differed from British Jacobitism. The loyalty and devotion to James the Second and to his son and grandson, which stirred the enthusiasm of a considerable proportion of the people of England and Scotland, did not exist in Ireland. By the Irish participants on the side of James the Jacobite War from 1689 to 1691 was not regarded as a fight for a dynasty. The chiefs and nobles, who summoned local followers and led them into battle, had as their predominant motive the regaining of their confiscated lands. They had no affection for James, whom they used merely as an instrument in their designs. Nor was the War a religious one except in a subsidiary way—it was not a struggle between Catholic and Protestant, though it has been regarded as such by the carnal and spiritual descendants of the supporters of William of Orange in north-eastern Ireland. A considerable number of Catholics fought in the Williamite army (its finest regiment, the Dutch Blue Guards, was almost exclusively Catholic), while a substantial number of Protestants were in the army of James. Apart from the fighting forces the Protestant archbishop of Armagh and seven Irish bishops of the Protestant church supported James. A number of high-placed ecclesiastics of the same creed sacrificed their worldly prospects by refusing to take the Oath of allegiance to William ; the Provost of Trinity College and leading State officials too were Jacobites in conviction. And finally at the beginning of the War James appealed in vain for help to the Catholic Powers of Europe, while the Williamite victory was received with elation in Rome and was celebrated with *Te Deums* in the Catholic cathedrals of Austria.

Jacobitism had not for its aim, as it is sometimes said to have had, the establishment of an independent Ireland. Most of the Irish gentry, who captained their dependents in the War, were not separatists. James the Second himself had no sympathy—quite the contrary—with the idea of an autonomous or semi-autonomous Irish nation. A few extracts from the *Instructions* left by him to his son illumine

his attitude towards the country—its national status, native culture and traditions. " Great care must be taken," he writes, " to civilise the ancient families (of Ireland) by having the sons of the chiefs of them bred up in England . . . . by which means they will have greater dependence on the Crown and, by degrees, will be weaned from their natural hatred against the English." He writes, too, that the garrison towns should not have natives of Ireland as Governors, nor any troops except English, Scotch and strangers, " for the Irish are easily led by their chiefs and clergy " ; and he recommends that " the O's and Macs who were forfeited for rebelling in James the First's time ought to be kept out of their estates". No native too, he maintains, should be Lord Lieutenant, and the Irish Parliament must be subordinate to that of England. There is no doubt that James, an intensely patriotic Englishman, did not love Ireland and that, had he triumphed, her political status would have remained unchanged.

There was, as has been said, in the Jacobites of Ireland none of that loyal and romantic attachment to the Stuarts which was so marked in those of Scotland. This is particularly seen in the spirit pervading the Jacobite poetry and ballads of the two countries. Those of Scotland show an intimate personal devotion to the Stuart princes which is absent from those of Ireland. In these latter, immensely smaller in bulk compared with the former, the theme is conventional and lacks the fervour of those of the Highlands. The romantic figure of Prince Charles Edward did often, it is true, inspire the Irish poets. But when their verses are most poignant and spontaneous, it is not of him they sing but of their country's unhappy fate, the tragedy of her exiled sons and chiefs, and the hope of their return. In this respect they do mirror the state of the nation and of popular feeling. At times too, one of them breaks away from convention and strikes a harsh realistic note :—

> King James came over to Ireland
> Wearing an English shoe and an Irish brogue
> (Do tháinig Righ Seamus chughainn go h-Éire
> Re na bhróg Ghallda 's re na bhróg Ghaolach) ;

and " it was his coming," the verse continues, " that took Ireland from us". Another figures Ireland lamenting bitterly that

> It was the second James who crushed my senses
> And left me lamenting . . . .

while still another descends to vulgarities in characterizing the dethroned king.

Not the least significant feature of the aftermath of the Jacobite War in Ireland was the emigration to the Continent of most of her native nobility and their followers. They sacrificed everything out of loyalty to a dubious sense of honour that, however admirable it may be, cannot divest them of blame for deserting in her hour of need their country, which they left behind without leaders to guide or hearten. They had, it is true, a vague hope of returning with foreign aid and became engaged abroad in many projects to liberate their native land. These however proved futile, and their only effect was to intensify the harsh regime at home, where a horde of foreign planters now reigned supreme.

On the other hand, as a result of the going abroad of the chiefs and nobles, the feudal conception of patriotism associated with their caste began to vanish. It gradually gave way to a spirit of democratic nationalism, hitherto unknown, which ultimately materialised in the United Irish movement in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and later in that of O'Connell. The new spirit appeared, as has been said, in the eighteenth-century poets—in the nationalistic note that crept into their verses, in which the Stuarts were forgotten and Ireland and her hopes were sung. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the effects on many aspects of Irish life from the loss of her native aristocracy must have been profound.

The late W. B. Yeats, speculating on this from one viewpoint, wrote : " Since the flight of the Wild Geese, who might have grown to be leaders in manners and taste, Ireland has had but political leaders."

II

In England and Scotland the literature of Jacobitism is an extensive one, to which two recently published books are a valuable addition.[1] One is a study by Mr. F. C. Turner of the life and character of James II of England, round whom more controversy has raged and who has been more unfairly treated by many of his biographers than any other British monarch. He has been charged with cowardice, duplicity, intolerance, cruelty ; his vices have been stressed or exaggerated, his virtues ignored or minimised, his motives misjudged. To such an extent has this been carried that it is in many ways a caricature of him which has come down to us. Eulogists, on the other hand, have portrayed him—it must be said with more fairness—as a patriotic Englishman with views of tolerance in advance of his age, a brave soldier in his youth, a stranger to deceit in an age of duplicity, an uncompromising Catholic who sacrificed his kingship for his religious convictions. In recent times at any rate there has been, as in the case of his brother Charles II, a more judicial assessment of his character and actions than in the past ; and it is one of the merits of Mr. Turner's book that it is in many respects an example of the change. Basing it entirely on original material, he has no prepossessions and is uninfluenced by what Mr. Belloc has described as the vulgarity and falsehood of official Whig history.

The author deals in detail with some of the charges with which historians from Burnet to Macaulay and others later still have assailed the character of the Stuart king. Regarding that of cowardice, for example, he shows that when James, then Duke of York, fought in the French army in the war of the Fronde the evidence is overwhelming that he was exceedingly brave—" so brave as to be outstanding in an army in which courage was not exceptional". He fought in four campaigns by the side of Turenne, the greatest soldier of the age, who admired him for his skill and valour ; and Condé, equally illustrious in the art of war, wrote that, as regards personal bravery, he desired " to see nothing superior to the Duke of York". His gallantry was particularly notable at the Battle of the Dunes, in which he boldly rallied his broken forces several times and charged the enemy again and again. Similar valour was shown by him as a naval officer in 1665 during the Dutch war at the battle of Lowestoft where, with men falling about him, he remained on deck for eighteen hours under heavy fire. In contrast with such exhibitions of personal valour were his vacillation and pusillanimous conduct a few years later in the campaign against William of Orange—especially in Ireland. The change is attributable, as is now generally recognised, to a premature mental decline due probably to riotous living.

The nature of other charges against James is fairly discussed and it is made clear that many of them, originating in contemporary Whig calumnies to justify the Revolution, are unfounded. Dealing with that of intolerance, Mr. Turner states that it was James's intention, the passion of his life, not only to make Catholicism dominant in England but to grant toleration to all sects. He declared that, " though he wished to see his own religion embraced, he thought it contrary to the precepts of Holy Writ to force conscience, and that he expected to see his Catholic subjects enjoying the freedom of other Englishmen and not treated as traitors". Some of

[1] *James II.* By F. C. Turner. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1948. 21s. net. *The Jacobite Movement.* The First Phase, 1688–1716. By Sir Charles Petrie, Bt. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1948. 15s. net.

the most striking pages in this biography discuss without prejudice the opinion, held by not a few, that the Stuart king was very much in advance of his time in the matter of religious toleration; his settled conviction was that no one should be made to suffer for his religious beliefs. His biographer writes that not only was it excusable for James to entertain such aspirations for his co-religionists, but that it was his clear duty as a convinced Catholic to do all in his power to realise them. Unfortunately, in trying to do so, he was indiscreet and hasty in his actions and took no account of their consequences.

At the time of the second Exclusion Bill, designed to deprive him of succession to the throne, James was persistently advised by his friends and by his brother the king that he should abandon Catholicism or make at least outward conformity to the Church of England, and thus make his accession assured. Rejecting the advice, he replied that, rather than adopt it, he hoped that " God would give me grace to suffer death for the true Catholic religion". It was one of many instances of his readiness to sacrifice his earthly inheritance for a greater thing. Commenting on his attitude, Mr. Turner writes that in adopting it " he rose to a pitch of moral heroism to which we cannot but pay respect, and which would have struck a chord of sympathy in the hearts of the Exclusionists themselves if they had not been blinded by political and sectarian passion". And a little later he again openly professed his faith, declaring that, as to abandoning Catholicism, " by God's grace he would never do so damnable a thing".

While so expressing his religious convictions James, despite a defective sense of judgment, realised the powerful forces against which he had to contend—and contend in lonely isolation. For a hundred years previously there was a growing distrust and hatred of Catholicism in the mass of the English people, based to no small extent on the belief that no Catholic could be a loyal subject without reservations in favour of the Popes. Gradually, as Mr. Turner says, all the latent Protestant fury fastened itself on James who became the embodiment of the menace it dreaded. There was especially banded against him a clique of powerful magnates—cunning, ruthless, unscrupulous, and typified in their leader Shaftesbury. They had a violent hatred of Catholicism, which the masses to some degree shared, and which they seized as an instrument to strike at and weaken the monarchy. But against malignity and intrigue James stood steadfast by the Faith, till in the end these forces, exploiting his own infirmities, overwhelmed and undid him.

To Irish readers the pages of this book devoted to the Jacobite campaign in Ireland will be of particular interest. The campaign makes one of the many tragic chapters of Irish history and marks the crisis in the ill-fortunes of James. It was in Ireland, as the author says, that he revealed most clearly his characteristic defects as a ruler. His failure was partly due to the fact that he made no study of local conditions; he was convinced that the only Irish grievance was the religious one. Like so many Englishmen before and since, he regarded Ireland as a conquered country to be exploited for the benefit of England. On the other hand, there was little if any affection or disinterested loyal sentiment in the Irish for him. He was, it is true, received with acclamation on his arrival among them; but they were soon disillusioned on finding that their hopes in him were unfounded. D'Avaux the French ambassador, reporting his experiences in Ireland to Louis XIV, wrote that " five months after James's landing in Ireland he had entirely lost the affection of the Irish people who, at his arrival, had been ready to do anything for him". And when James arrived in France after his flight on the Boyne reverse, he had already forgotten Ireland—lost to him, he said, by Irish cowardice; and there is no evidence, as Mr. Turner says, that he ever again took more than a passing interest in that country.

On the whole this book is in many ways the most impartial and scholarly bio-

graphy of James the Second that has yet appeared. Basing his work on original authorities and new material, the author challenges many of the traditional views that have hitherto been accepted as orthodox. And on what may fairly be regarded as controversial matters he is eminently just and detached. In contrast with the distorted—at times caricaturish—portrait of James presented by Whig writers, one finishes this book with the impression of a man with many infirmities and many virtues, with a fervent patriotism (which did not include his Irish kindgom), with a fine nobility and an unswerving fidelity to the Catholic Faith which cost him his kingly heritage. Though it is perhaps doubtful if its author would agree with the view, this biography is in some ways a rehabilitation of the last of the Stuart kings who, with all their faults and failings, wore a grace and a distinction that have not since appeared on the English throne.

III

Sir Charles Petrie is probably the greatest living authority on Jacobitism, and his history of that movement recently published is, as one would expect, of singular interest and value. Many will remember his striking book on the subject which appeared in 1932. As a result of further study he has added to and revised that work to such an extent that a new edition in two volumes has been necessary. The first volume deals with the period 1688-1716; the other, not yet published, will continue the history down to the '45 and the extinction of Jacobitism as a political force. Many separate works have been written on particular periods of the movement, on the lives of its chief figures and on its Risings-out. Personal memoirs, too, have added to its literature. This work, however, is the first which gives a comprehensive history of the movement as a whole from its beginning to its eclipse. Round Jacobitism, indeed, has grown up an immense saga of legend and poetry, and it has been embellished by a halo of romance that has often obscured its realities in a mist of sentiment. It is one of the commendable features of this book that it dissipates the mist and gives a clear survey of the movement, while not ignoring the gallantry and pathos that often marked it.

The birth of Jacobitism is generally associated with the flight of James II in 1688. Sir Charles Petrie states, however, that its seeds were sown at the time of the Restoration nearly thirty years previously. The plant rose above the ground, he says, in the reign of Charles II with the appearance of many of the events which led to his brother's loss of the throne. One was the outburst of anti-Catholic feeling, largely due to suspicion of France, then the dominant power in Europe and regarded by the mass of Englishmen as the ally of Rome. The religious hostility was accentuated by the conversion of James, then Duke of York; by the supposed Popish Plot; and by other happenings. After James ascended the throne, his efforts in the cause of religious toleration fanned the flame and helped to recreate the same coalition of interests against him as had sent his father to the scaffold. His own lack of firmness too, after the landing of William of Orange, played into the hands of his enemies and proved a fatal mistake. Sir Charles Petrie with good reason believes that, if he had stood his ground, engaged the enemy immediately and appealed to the national dislike of foreigners, he would probably have won and saved the throne. Instead, despite the entreaties of his best friends, he became a fugitive, fled to France and never saw England again.

A similar weakness was shown by James later in the disastrous Irish campaign, although in this instance it was but a minor factor in its failure. The infirmity to which it was attributable and its causes have been referred to in a previous page. It is Sir Charles Petrie's opinion that the King's upbringing as a sailor and soldier unfitted him to solve complex political problems, affected his nervous system and

left him in civil life a poor judge of men. Other features of his character, as revealed in his actions, are discussed dispassionately in this book. Regarding the vexed question of his religious convictions, the author writes : " Many accusations, several of them only too true, have been brought against James, but it has never been suggested that he was otherwise than perfectly sincere in his religious opinions." His effort for religious toleration was misinterpreted, its failure being due to the want of tact that distinguished him. To the author he seems too straightforward to be a successful politician, and he did not know what dissimulation was. His creative work for the navy, for which he never got full credit, displayed his genius for organisation and was one of many proofs of his intense patriotism.[1] Sir Charles Petrie's final summary is that none of the more serious charges, once brought against James, can be proved and that his blunders were very clearly due to the limitations of his intellect.

Ireland's part in the Jacobite movement is clearly sketched in this history, in which the author furnishes an intimate and personal acquaintance with the tangled situation existing there in the reigns of Charles II and James I. The account of its political and religious state under the former king is, perhaps, a little rose-coloured. His picture of the country as " happier than for many a long year " differs from that of Lecky, whose opinion was that as a result of the legislation passed in that reign " the downfall of the old race was all but accomplished". There is in the book a clear and careful comparison of the relative strength and personnel of the Jacobite and Williamite armies. In that respect Sir Charles Petrie's statement that there was probably a higher percentage of Catholics in the army of William than in that of James will surprise many readers. The book, too, has a vivid and masterly description of the clash at the Boyne. The author proves that the so-called battle was really a retreat of the Jacobite forces, which was only saved from becoming a rout by the charges of the Irish Horse and the tactics of the French Regulars. The Irish campaign, he shows, failed for three main reasons : the ill-equipped Irish army ; the lack of a capable general ; and the pusillanimity of James. One of the features of the War in Ireland " to the eternal credit of his Irish subjects " was that for a year after the King's flight they fought on. Far different was the attitude of the English Jacobites, who contented themselves with drinking toasts to " The King over the Water". It prompts Sir Charles to the reflection that, if the drinking of toasts could have affected the political situation, James would have been carried to the throne on a wave of enthusiasm and claret.

RICHARD HAYES

[1] One of the latest assailants of James's character is Mr. Winston Churchill, the English politician, who charges him with acting in the interests of France. It is difficult, as Sir Charles Petrie says, to reconcile the charge with James's blunt refusal to accept the assistance of Louis XIV. Mr. Churchill in making the charge is defending the attitude of his ancestor John Churchill, who was one of the leading traitors against the king to whom he had sworn allegiance. Mr. Belloc's description of John Churchill as unscrupulous and treacherous is not unjust.

REVIEWS

Biography

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. By Salvador de Madariaga. New Edition. London: Hollis and Carter. 1949. 18s.

This book was published ten years ago, and it cannot be understood without memory of the emotional stresses of 1938-9. In a note to this second edition Sr. de Madariaga complains that some critics have accused him of writing this biography " to prove that Christopher Columbus was a Jew". His counter-claim is that " a Life of Colón had to be written " ; that he, like every other biographer of Columbus or Colón, found himself faced with two sets of facts concerning his early life and education which had to be correlated, if any sense at all was to be made of the life as a whole ; and that he has found the solution to this long-standing puzzle in his theory that Christopher Colón was born in Genoa, of a Spanish-Jewish refugee family which had accepted Christian baptism, kept Spanish as the family language, and never acquired any feeling for Genoa as fatherland or home. Were that all, we might dismiss this thesis as a learned fancy of the author ; but there is very much more than that in Sr. de Madariaga's book. For him this Jewish ancestry is the key to the whole mystery of Christopher Colón's life. Here is how he interprets his God-given mission as he made the final plans for his expedition of 1492 : " Go. Conquer. Bring back the wealth of the Indies which Marco Polo has described to you and which I have shown you through Esdras, my prophet, to be closer to Spain than most people think—and with that wealth free from the infidel the Holy Sepulchre of my Son and the House of Sion in which David, the King of your people, sang my praises. And by this service to both Jewry and Christianity, rise in triumph above Torquemada's flame." These eloquent sentences make sense as a protest against the Nazi pogroms of 1938-9. But are they based on a sound interpretation of historical facts ?

Two apparently irreconcilable facts are, it is claimed, reconciled in this thesis : the fact, for which there is now an abundance of documentary evidence, that the family of Columbus (writing their name as Colombo) were settled in Genoa throughout the fifteenth century and appear in these documents as a family of weavers ; and the fact that Christopher never uses the Italian language in any of his letters or writings, writes Latin as a Spaniard (making the mistakes that a Spaniard would make) and uses commonly a Spanish which suggests familiarity with Portuguese. Moreover, the great explorer shows no loyalty to Genoa in his acts ; fights at sea against Genoese ships in 1476 ; and writes a Spanish letter to the great Bank of San Georgio when he needs its financial support in 1502. On page 33 of this book you may read the bold statement that " in none of the papers which are indisputably of his hand does Colón actually say that he is a Genoese". If you are diligent and turn to the notes at the end of the volume, you will find that the author seeks to justify this statement by an elaborate argument against the authenticity of a deed of entail, dated 1497-8, in which Christopher does make a full legal statement as to his Genoese origins. Yet even here we are warned that " the Entail Deed cannot be a complete invention " ; and that " most of its executive clauses are probably—but only probably—correct". We are hardly to blame if we feel that criticism of this deed is strongly coloured by the author's wish to maintain a thesis that is completely new—and in itself most improbable.

Two main arguments are brought forward in support of the view that Christopher Colón was no ordinary Genoese citizen. His use of Spanish, not Italian, would be strange indeed if Christopher had spent most of his early life in Genoa ; but this is

far from certain. There are official documents to prove that Christopher's father was a weaver; that one of his brothers was a weaver; that the family were losing ground in the city during Christopher's youth (he seems to have been born in 1451); and that Christopher himself is named in deeds of September and October 1470, March and August 1472, and August 1473 as witness and guarantor for some purchases made by his father. He was then about twenty years old. If we are to pay heed to Christopher's own statements, he had taken to the sea from a very early age and "had been at sea for twenty-three years without being away from it for any time worth counting." From 1484 he was more or less continuously in Spain, engaged on those endless negotiations for financial support which seemed for so long to be a fruitless quest. It follows that he must have gone to sea as a young boy of little more than ten years. That is what we might expect of a life which culminated in the greatest feat of navigation known to European history. But what are we to make of the Genoese documents? Sr. de Madariaga is right, I think, in refusing to take them as proof of anything more than visits to Genoa for short periods during the first years of his seafaring days. Those who take them as proof that Christopher Columbus spent the first twenty years and more of his life as a weaver in Genoa find it impossible to reconcile these documents with the explorer's own statements, and have argued constantly that he was untruthful. Is it not far more probable that he was right as to the main facts, though he may be caught out here and there on a misstatement as to some minor detail?

Granted that Sr. de Madariaga is right in his interpretation of the Genoese background, one main prop for his thesis falls to the ground. What language did Christopher commonly speak in those long years of sea-faring in the Mediterranean? We do not know. He may have soon ceased to speak Italian as his mother-tongue in a world which was dominated by Catalan and Portuguese navigators. This insistence on the mother-tongue has a modern flavour. Nobody doubts that Peter Canisius was born of Dutch parents at Nymwegen in the early sixteenth century. Yet he thought of himself and spoke of himself as a German, and had to confess in old age that, after so many years of speech in High German, he could no longer preach to a Dutch audience. Christopher Colón fought against the Genoese as a captain in the fleet of René d'Anjou in 1476. What of it, if we once accept the simple fact that he began life as a corsair? Has Sr. de Madariaga never studied the careers of Italian *condottieri*?

The second main prop in his argument is the use of the name Colón, not Colombo, in the explorer's later life. Colombo was a name that any Spaniard could have pronounced, and the form Colomo would have been the correct linguistic form if the explorer wished to find a Castilian equivalent. In actual fact, having signed himself for a time Colom, he ended by using the form Colón; and wished that his heirs should continue to use this name which he had made famous in two worlds. "May we point out how Jewish this all is?", writes our learned author; and he confirms his argument by proving that many Jews of Catalonia used the name Colón. But may we point out in counter-argument that, if Sr. de Madariaga were to apply these principles to Irish personal names of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he would soon have discovered a lost tribe of Israel? Jews in our modern world are noted for the ease with which they change their names; but personal names were less fixed in every country four or five hundred years ago than they are to-day.

Once launched on this stream of hypothesis, we are inevitably carried from one ingenious suggestion to another. At the age of thirty-six Christopher falls in love with Beatrix Enriquez, the mother of his second son, Fernando. He had then been married for some ten years. Was Beatrix a Jewess? Her father had changed his name from Torquemada to Enriquez, and there are many who believe that the

Torquemada family was a *converso* family. Others have denied it—and hotly. Granted that Beatrix may have been a Jewess, can a man not love a Jewish woman without being himself a Jew? Some of those who backed Christopher's venture at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella were certainly *conversos ;* but there is nothing more remarkable in the Spain of Isabella and Torquemada than the firm determination of the court to keep *converso* Jews in high positions at a time when the Inquisition was burning many of their kindred on the charge of secret Jewish observances. If the would-be discoverer of a new world sought help from men like Andrés Cabrera and Luis de Santángel, there is a simple explanation of his action. These men had the favour of the king and queen, and none were better placed for promoting his adventure if they so wished.

That brings me to my final objection. Sr. de Madariaga prides himself on his use of psychological arguments. Why does he never face the simple fact that Jews, who have made their name and their fortune in so many ways, have never been noted for their activity as sailors? In the New Testament, as in the Old, they are not among those who go down to the sea in ships—though they have at all times provided brains and capital for those who are willing to risk their lives on such ventures. One of the most interesting of the many interesting chapters in this book deals with the small world of Spanish cartographers and astronomers, who were eagerly gathering information and comparing notes as each new voyage added something to the sum of their knowledge. Many of these cartographers were Jews—as was natural in a land where Jewish and Arab scientists had done so much in the past. Christopher Colón was of their number during the long years of waiting that preceded the adventure of 1492. In this book it is argued that he purloined a map drawn by an Italian physicist, Paolo Toscanelli of Florence, which fitted into his own scheme of world-geography. That scheme was most fortunately based on errors that can now be detected, but which lured him to his great discovery under the false impression that India lay no more than 975 leagues across the western sea from the coasts of Spain and Portugal. A text from the prophet Esdras made certainty an act of faith, and the explorer had no further doubts himself—though he found it a long and wearisome task to convince others of his wisdom. It would be tedious to disentangle the many strands of guess-work which have convinced our author that none but a *converso* Jew, working in secret agreement with other Jews, could have reached this mystic faith precisely at the time when Torquemada was burning so many faithless *converso* Jews.

Nazi policy has had a good deal more to say to this thesis than the cool examination of documentary evidence, though the book is full of unexpected glimpses into an unfamiliar world. What a pity that the author, who knows so much of Spanish literature and history, should have spoilt his biography by failure to keep modern politics out of a picture, which ends by becoming no more than a travesty of historical truth!

A. G.

CAROLINE NORTON. By Alice Ackland. London: Constable. 1948. 16s.

One can no more speak of the typical Sheridan than one can speak of the typical Irishman, since such a term must imply an aggregate of characteristics not shared by many members of the tribe. Nevertheless, the word " Sheridan " evokes in our minds the quintessence of those traits which have irregularly occurred in that family —traits which appear most strikingly concentrated in Richard Brinsley. These traits are found, in varying degree and number, in the best known members of the Sheridan family throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some day perhaps someone will undertake a history of the Sheridan family, marking the incidence of these characteristics. He who might write such a book would have to

ride the whirlwind and to shape the fluidity of water ; for the Sheridans are not simply a family composed of individuals. The Sheridans are the protean incarnation of a daemon, a demiurge, a quality so compendious as almost to defy definition.

This quality, springing up in the Sheridans from generation to generation, has much enriched life and letters. In doing so, it has too often ravaged its possessors and those with whom they have come in contact. It evinces itself as artistic creativeness ; as the need to live with reckless intensity, whether it be in the maze of politics or of society or of the emotions. This instinct, coupled with other attributes and with a histrionic flair, tends always to put the Sheridans at the centre of the contemporary scene. They have an arresting gift of beauty ; they are highly original and daring ; they are vital, witty, unconventional, generally hard-up ; they have a curious streak of hidden melancholy. They know how to live and how to die graciously (even as Richard Brinsley died in his filthy truckle bed). They are the romantic leaven in the heavy dough of life. They have charm—a deathless charm which won them the devotion of many, the envious hatred of a few, and the uneasy dislike of those (and they are legion) who distrust the unpredictable.

These characteristics are all apparent in Caroline Norton, the grand-daughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. She comes fully to life at the pen-point of Miss Alice Ackland, who has brought to her subject comprehensive knowledge and insight. The career of Caroline Norton may be variously interpreted. In her own life-time it aroused extreme partisanship in two opposed camps. Miss Ackland presents each point of view with wise impartiality. She offers no special pleading. Rather she prefers to show how, by a natural assertion of character, by attraction and by conflict, human beings become involved in each other's lives. She sees individual traits express themselves inevitably. She sets herself to disentangle the web of motives and causes ; and she asks us to consider the whole field without prejudice.

When Richard Brinsley saw his small grand-daughter, Caroline, he said that she was not a child whom he would care to meet in a dark wood. She is a passionate and self-willed child. At the age of eleven she writes her first book, and it is actually published. At sixteen she has grown into a beauty, with " enormous " eyes and the dark burning gaze of the Sheridans. At seventeen she is married to George Norton, a brother of Lord Grantley. From this disastrous union sprang all the miseries of her life. George Norton, dull, opinionated and penurious, evidently fell in love with Caroline's beauty, despite the disapproval of his family who objected to Caroline's lack of fortune and to her Whig connections. For most women of that day, marriage was really the only possible career : a penniless girl could not pick and choose. Following the example of her younger sister and the promptings of her mother, Caroline married without love.

A few weeks after marriage, she found that her husband was not even worthy of respect (for example, when he was angry he resorted to physical violence). It was a case of hopeless incompatibility. Miss Ackland strikes a balance of sympathy : " Miserably disillusioned, lonely and helpless though Caroline must have felt, it is not to be supposed that George Norton emerged unscathed. He was full of a rather pathetic, because futile, pride and vanity ; the sort of man who would have been easily satisfied with a surface complacency and flattery from his wife ; but instead he was confronted with a sharp-tongued beauty in whose heart existed standards as mysterious to him as the laws of the Great Mogul."

George Norton has little money. Soon Caroline's charm secures him a post which carries with it an income of £1,000 a year. Her children are born. They need more money. Caroline turns to writing. Soon she is supporting the household. Finally they separate, and George Norton denies her access to her children. The remainder of her life is spent in trying to get them back. The laws of that time made no provision for such a case as hers (" Rights ! " she cries in Court, "I have

no rights—I have only wrongs ! "). So she sets herself to amend the laws. Caroline was more responsible than anyone else for the passing of the Infants' Custody Bill and the 1857 Bill for the reform of the Marriage and Divorce Laws. Political friendships increase Mrs. Norton's difficulties. Finally her private concerns interlock with political complexities in the Melbourne case. She was a woman who needed to live in the public eye. Even painful publicity did not quench her histrionic flair. In 1853, cited to appear in court in connection with her everlasting matrimonial tangle, she swayed with her the listening crowds, so that they cheered her and hissed her husband who threatened her with his clenched fist. Again, as a proof of her attitude, there are those newspaper controversies into which she rushed with great fire and no wisdom.

Such a synopsis may seem to indicate a life of contentious squalor. Such is far from the truth. The beautiful Caroline never lost her charm ; never ceased to take her place in society ; never failed to find her impetus in the world of affairs—human, political, literary, fashionable. We are told that her conversation was informed and witty and spiced with her own particular brand of indiscretion. A Frenchman once told Hayward that he liked Mrs. Norton because she was " so spirituous and abandoned".

Caroline Norton wrote many novels, most of which are a fictional disguise for the events of her own life. Finally she herself became the subject of a novel—Meredith's *Diana of the Crossways*. Since her interests were so varied, it would be impossible to write her biography without making live the whole of her period. This is the achievement of Miss Ackland ; and we are further indebted to her for the quiet distinction of her prose style.

B. G. MacCarthy

Memoirs

GREAT MORNING. By Osbert Sitwell. London : Macmillan. 1948. 15s.

I was once party to one of these futile discussions that arise when someone guilefully asks what book of our day will survive to be a classic five hundred years hence. Poetry was barred, too many poets being present. A.E. surprisingly put forward a claim for *The Jungle Book* on the grounds of its simplicity, universality and timelessness. Neither then nor now could I accept that candidate ; now, however, I would make bold to put forward Sir Osbert Sitwell's autobiography and on precisely the opposite grounds of its complexity and its full, significant relation with its period and place. Chance, in great part, controls the survival of masterpieces ; *sunt apud inferos tot milia formosarum*. But if we had the choice, how many masterpieces should we not willingly let die for the 1200-page autobiography of Horace ?

Great Morning is the third volume of Sir Osbert Sitwell's *Left Hand, Right Hand*, the title of which chiromantically suggests the author's study of the lines of his life. Turning aside from his poetry, short stories, novels, and his variety of discursions in travel and art, he has set himself, with great deliberation, to fashion out of his immediate experience a work of art which will, in effect, be at once the summation of his craft, the salvage of his traditional inheritance with the earned income of his sharpened taste, and a cry of defiance to the chaos which is about to engulf all. He has described for us in advance the singing hive he is contriving for his swarming memories. These he will have " old-fashioned and extravagant " ; his book, an incrustation of detail, " gothic, complicated in surface and crowned with turrets and with pinnacles, for that is its nature," and full of others besides himself, people fantastic, beautiful and simple, evoking from familiarity a fantasy and beauty equal with what he has elsewhere distilled from exotic places and strange customs and ceremonies, so that he may effect his portrait of an age and person.

In this instalment, and in its successor which has not yet appeared in an English

edition, he is crossing the brief plateau that lay open, all Danae to the Edwardian and early Georgian sun. The curtain goes up to an elaborate set-piece of the Tower of London where the writer, shanghai'd a few months earlier by his eccentric father to a misery of mounted Yeomanry, is now posted to a battalion of the Guards. It is his introduction to the London of the Russian Ballet, of Stravinsky's music and the Italian opera, of patrician drawingrooms ; to interludes in the woods and stubble-fields of Renishaw ; and to Italy where, around his father's giddy orbit at Montegufoni, move in more calculated opposition the diverting planets of the Barone Pavolino and Miss Fingelstone. Like Marius the Epicurean, the young guardsman picks his fastidious way between pinchbeck and gold until in the closing pages the brittle glory cracks with von Külhman's sudden question to him at a country house : " How would your regiment act if ordered to oppose the Ulster Volunteers ? " and with the apparition of a beaky face and hooded eyes, the armament-monger Basil Zaharoff.

The kaleidoscope of many cultures falls into pattern. Each note struck carries all its harmonics, each episode its past and future implications. The Proustian shuttle flies backwards and forwards in time and space weaving a tapestry of verdure and gold out of the grotesque and natural, out of what is fine and what is merely magnificent. In its close texture and variety of movement and colour the writer's deliberate art moves securely at its highest level. Master of the long line and flowing sentence, Sir Osbert uses left hand and right hand, incisor and molar, biting irony, wit and the tranquil chewing of the cud of memory. If Lucretius wrote prose, he might have signed certain pages of this book charged with pessimism and an inextinguishable sense of beauty, and Horace might have used it as a model for his own autobiography. C. P. CURRAN

IT ALL HAPPENED. Reminiscences of Seamus Fenton. Dublin : M. H. Gill. 1948. 10s. 6d.

THE author of this book, well known for his zealous activities in the Irish renaissance during the past fifty years, has gathered in it the memories of a full lifetime. Although many of the hopes and ideals which he cherished in his early years have been but partially realised, he still shows in his mellowing years in these pages all the enthusiasm of his youth. The opening chapters give a pleasant picture of the old ways in Kerry, with which he was intimate from childhood, and of the life of a still earlier time which he remembered hearing from the elder generation. In many aspects that life has utterly changed where it has not vanished altogether—" it has veered," as he says, " into the strong current of English tradition". Due largely to economic causes and especially to the desolating Great Famine, the change is typical of many other districts in Ireland during the nineteenth century ; and in the twentieth it is still proceeding around us even more rapidly. Much went with it ; for the life, if hard in many ways, was joyous and homely, courteous and hospitable. The early chapters form the most interesting and valuable of Mr. Fenton's book. Round these memoried pictures of his youth he weaves stories of the spacious smuggling days in Kerry, of the Wild Geese coming and going, and of the vicissitudes of its old families—the O'Connells, O'Donoghues, O'Mahonys . . . ; stories too of the poets, ballad singers and shanachies.

The author's life has been a full and varied one from its beginning as a teacher to its close as Chief Inspector of schools. In those parts of Ireland with which he was associated in either capacity, he became absorbed in local history, manners and custom, folklore and antiquities. The rich harvestings of his research and experiences are in this book, and they make interesting reading not only for students but for general readers. It is full too of delightful stories, witty and droll, which he gathered

at the firesides and dining-tables of poor and rich ; and with them are pen portraits of many notable Irishmen. He has a pleasant sketch of Augustine Birrell while Chief Secretary of Ireland, whom he met in the West and whose views on various Irish questions he tells of. It was before the Easter Week Rising ended that statesman's political career—it is amusing to hear that, while in Ireland, he watched the programme of the Abbey Theatre as being of more significance than the monthly reports of the Royal Irish Constabulary !

Having finished the reading of this book, one returns to those fascinating chapters where Mr. Fenton out of a richly stored mind, full of fragrant memories, recreates that old life he knew and heard of in his youth. And in one reader's bookshelves at least his work takes its place beside that other charming book of Kerry life in the previous century, *The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade.* R. H.

History

THE PHOTIAN SCHISM. By Francis Dvornik. Cambridge University Press. 1948. 35s.

Dr. Dvornik wrote this book in French some years ago with a view to its inclusion in Professor Grégoire's *Corpus Bruxellense.* He is now a refugee in London, and the volume appears in an English form thanks to the cooperation of many scholars and to the encouragement of his own former colleagues in the University of Prague before the tragic days of March 1939. It incorporates the results of research-work into the history of the Photian schism which has been attracting wide attention for the past twenty years ; and Dr. Dvornik's conclusions are a challenge, in chapter after chapter, to the accepted version of events which happened more than a thousand years ago, but which still have power to revive old memories of bitter controversy and so help to keep East and West apart in what was once the unity of Graeco-Roman Christendom.

It would be idle to pretend that this volume makes easy reading. Dr. Dvornik is writing in a foreign tongue, and he is grappling with an immense mass of contradictory statements from hostile witnesses. Some of his conclusions have been accepted already as unquestionably sound. His essay on " The Second Schism of Photius ", which was published in *Byzantion* for 1933 and is here repeated in a revised form as Chapter VII of Part I, has compelled scholars to revise their estimate of the last phase in the career of the great Patriarch of the ninth century. Those who have read Professor E. Amann's chapters on the Photian schism in Vol. VI of the Church History edited by MM. Fliche and Martin, will know how profoundly his narrative is influenced by Dr. Dvornik's investigations.

Following on these earlier studies there have come other essays on the First Schism of Photius, the problem as to the oecumenicity of the Eighth Council of the Church, the Western tradition concerning the activity of Photius and the bearing of these studies on the modern problem of Reunion between East and West. This present volume falls into two main parts. The first is devoted to a detailed analysis of the evidence for the long and complicated story of the quarrel between Ignatius and Photius, the former's fall and the first rise of Photius to power, the quarrel with Rome, the significance of the Bulgarian episode, the fall and condemnation of Photius, his rehabilitation in the Synod of 879–80, the alleged " Second Schism " and the Patriarch's last days. The second part, which breaks new ground for most readers, traces the development of a Western tradition which was increasingly hostile as Rome and Constantinople fell further and further apart ; notes the influence of the canonists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; and brings out with startling clearness the epoch-making (but none the less devastating) influence of no less a person than the Oratorian Cardinal Baronius. Baronius wrote his *Annales* as a

much-needed Catholic rejoinder to the challenge of the Magdeburg Centuriators, who had seized on the Photian episode as yet one more proof of Roman ambition and worldly pride. By the worst of bad luck the Roman Cardinal, whose reputation for fair-minded scholarship is admitted on all sides, stumbled on the long-forgotten series of forged documents which were brought back to Rome from Constantinople by the enemies of the Eastern Patriarch. Like many another scholar of repute, Baronius fell a victim to his own discovery. These new documents fitted his own view of the part played by Photius so well that he accepted them as genuine and based his whole narrative on their untrustworthy evidence. Dr. Dvornik makes it only too easy to understand how so good a scholar could be so badly deceived—or the documents were contemporary with the events they purported to describe. From that day to this, the great weight of the Cardinal's authority has been decisive—not only in the West, but even in the East where those who set themselves to defend the Patriarch of Constantinople were hampered by the necessity of explaining these apparently authentic documents in a favourable sense.

Having said so much, I should like to make it plain that Dr. Dvornik has, in my judgment, been himself too eager to defend the cause of one who was, beyond all question, a prime mover in the anti-Roman party at Constantinople. It is one thing to explode a myth or to shake our confidence in evidence that has been accepted as authentic for so many centuries. It is quite another thing to attempt a new reconstruction of the complicated story, setting aside admittedly dubious material but filling in the gaps that have been left by this process of sifting the evidence. As I have said, Dr. Dvornik's book does not make easy reading. That is due in part to the fact that his recent tragic experiences have compelled him to write in a foreign tongue. But it is also due in great part to his constant effort to suggest, on grounds that are at best plausible and sometimes plainly insufficient, a long series of hypothetical interpretations as to the motives and personal influence of this or that chief actor in the great drama. The common view has always been that Photius, himself perhaps the greatest of all Byzantine scholars, was so proudly conscious of Byzantine superiority to " Old Rome " that he could not brook any interference of the Roman See in Eastern affairs. That was undoubtedly one of the driving forces in the Synod of 867. The accident that a mission to the Bulgarians raised at this very moment an old-standing dispute between the two ecclesiastical courts as to their rights in the Slav countries of South-Eastern Europe gave Photius his opportunity ; and Dr. Dvornik admits that Photius has much to answer for in his conduct at that fatal Synod. Elsewhere, however, one cannot but feel that the author of this learned volume is constantly eager to minimise the Patriarch's responsibility for what is known to have happened—to seize, for example, on the absence of direct evidence as an argument that Photius was not personally involved in some of the most important diplomatic acts of those stormy years. It seems in every way more probable that his was the dominant personal influence from first to last.

One great merit of this book is that it sets these theological controversies in their contemporary political background. Dr. Dvornik insists, apparently with great truth, that the bitter feelings of the Iconoclast controversy had not died down in Constantinople ; and that the monks who were supporting Ignatius against the more moderate and scholarly group around Photius are the direct inheritors of the extremists in the Iconoclast affair. Ignatius himself, who is venerated as a saint in the East, seems to have been an unworldly but rash Patriarch—who let himself get involved very much more deeply than he had expected in the passionate controversies of the day. Dr. Dvornik does not go so far as to represent Photius as an unworldly and innocent scholar who has strayed into controversies that he

can no longer control ; but he is plainly anxious to find ground for venerating Photius, as well as Ignatius, in the tradition of the Eastern Church. I can see much in this book that makes the actions of Photius more intelligible ; but nothing that makes me anxious to venerate him as a saint !

None the less, all students of Church History will have to read each chapter of this book with the most serious attention. One long chapter, for example, gathers together evidence in support of the author's view that the Eighth Council was not counted among the General Councils of the Church by the Roman Popes until after the canonists of the eleventh century, owing to a misunderstanding of the materials they were using, had included it in their lists. From a strictly theological point of view, the argument matters little either way—for the Eighth Council has long since acquired authority from the acceptance of the Western Church as a whole. But theologians will need to revise their estimate of the part played by the defenders of Eastern tradition in all this controversy. Inevitably, Eastern theologians have paid more attention to the theory of the Councils than have their rivals in the West. Dr. Dvornik had meant to publish a second volume containing full texts on all this aspect of the controversy. But he has had to yield to the tragic circumstances of modern Europe, which have made so many manuscripts inaccessible to Western scholars. As some compensation for the loss of that volume, he prints here a long list of Greek MSS. containing anonymous and unpublished Greek treatises on the Councils. More than forty of them are in the great treasure-house of the National Library at Paris ; some others are in the National Library of Vienna. Some day perhaps a more fortunate scholar will be able to take up the clue here offered, and make an adequate study of the theories which Greek theologians developed in their effort to find support for their doctrines in the early Councils of the Church. A. G.

HENRY VIII AND THE REFORMATION. By H. Maynard-Smith, D.D. Oxon. London : Macmillan. 1948. 30s.

THE well-known Protestant historian, J. Gairdner, who did so much to elucidate the history of the Reformation in England, was of opinion that religious prejudice had warped the judgment of many who had written on that subject : too little account was taken of the wrongs inflicted on the Catholics ; of the tyranny, greed, and irreverence, of the robbery of God and His Church which disgraced the Reformation in England. The work of many historians, Catholic and Protestant (not least among these Gairdner himself), has made it impossible nowadays to ignore these facts. The author of the present work, an Anglican clergyman, tells that shady side of the story frankly enough. He heartily condemns " Cromwell and his subordinate gangsters," who were the agents of the king in suppressing the monasteries. While not quite so whole-hearted in his condemnation of Henry VIII himself, he regards him " with horror". The crew with whose aid Cranmer carried through the more drastic changes made in the reign of Edward VI he calls " the gangsters who succeeded Somerset in power and understood the opportunities which a reformation offered for plunder". At the beginning of his last chapter, he remarks : " Those who have considered the facts recorded in this book will not be inclined to boast over much about our *Glorious Reformation* " (p. 452). But he adds at once : " It is only by taking a long-term view that it can be justified."

The purpose, in fact, of his book seems to be, while admitting and condemning the disgraceful origins and history of the English Reformation, to justify it and the Anglican Church which it established. This Anglican Church is, he maintains, " a national Church with an ethos of its own " (p. 457). But " she has never admitted that she was a new body. She has always been ready to vindicate her continuity with the Church of the Middle Ages " (p. 455). Hence he wishes to minimize

the importance of the changes made. The Anglican Church, he maintains, never became really Protestant. In the last two years of Edward VI, indeed, " the Church was as Protestant as it could be made by passing Acts and issuing Ordinances " (p. 453). But it is absurd to regard those years as determining the character of the Reformed Church of England. It was then " theologically dominated by foreign refugees " from Germany; but the reforming party, " though supreme at the moment, did not represent England or her Church " (ibid.). " By 1600 the spirit of the Church of England was more in harmony with the Catholic reformers Colet, Erasmus, and More than with the Protestant reformers Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper, though she owed much to all of them " (p. 457). These are the theses which the author tries to square with the awkward facts of history.

His book is divided into two parts of about equal length. The first, called " The Political Reformation," tells the story of the rejection of the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction and the substitution for it of that of the king. It recounts the well-known series of events: Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn; the struggle for a divorce, leading to the rejection of the Pope's authority because he refused to give that divorce; the dissolution and plunder of the monasteries; the vicissitudes of Henry's policy and his matrimonial adventures during the last twelve years of his reign. The second part is entitled " The Religious Reformation". It deals with the infiltration of Lutheran doctrines; the successive English versions of the Bible; the successive doctrinal formularies, defining the religious tenets to be held by the king's subjects (the Ten Articles of 1536, the Bishop's Book of 1537, the Six Articles of 1539, the King's Book of 1543); the martyrs, Protestant and Catholic, who suffered under Henry.

The very title of the first part, The Political Reformation, shows the author's bias. That " political reformation " was in fact a religious revolution. Before it occurred, the Church in England was a part of the one Catholic Church, subject to the supreme spiritual jurisdiction of the Popes, as successors of St. Peter—a jurisdiction which belongs to the divinely instituted constitution of the Catholic Church. The reformers rejected that jurisdiction and substituted for it the king's supreme spiritual jurisdiction in all spiritual matters and over all his subjects. By so doing they founded a new national church, the Church of England, separated from the Catholic Church by schism and heresy, differing from it in constitution and doctrine. For the constitution of the new Church was based on a new doctrinal theory, the theory that, where Christian kings and princes exist, they hold, by divine right derived immediately from Christ, supreme jurisdiction over the Church in their dominions—*i.e.* supreme spiritual jurisdiction in their own realms and over their own subjects. The Catholic Church holds that spiritual jurisdiction belongs by divine right to the supreme pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, and under him to the subordinate episcopate.

This was the only essential change made in Henry's reign (though of course, under Edward and Elizabeth the new Church went much further in the way of heresy); but, even taken alone, it is fatal to the theory of " continuity " with the Church of the Middle Ages. Accordingly Dr. Maynard-Smith finds it embarrassing and the whole tendency of his book is to hide its significance. His treatment of it is wavering and uncertain. In some places he seems to admit that Henry had made himself " Pope in England "; in other places he tries to whittle down this complete subordination of the Church to the temporal ruler. Thus, on p. 52, à propos of Henry's letter to Tunstall, he concludes that the king " claims no power over spiritual things, but only over spiritual persons—who after all have many temporal relations". But this is a distortion of the plain meaning of the document. In that letter Henry says that he does not claim to be head of the whole Church, the whole mystical body of Christ (which would be too absurd), but only of the

Church of England—that is of the people and clergy of England. But he is *their* head in spiritual as well as temporal matters. Further he does not claim the power of orders, but only supreme spiritual jurisdiction. The administration of the sacraments and the ministry of preaching is the office of priests, not of kings; but they exercise it in subordination to his jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of bishops —their legislative, executive, and judicial authority in spiritual matters—is a subordinate jurisdiction subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the king; and, according to Henry's own view, is derived immediately from him.

On p. 66 there is a passage typical of the author's attitude to this question: "Papal principles were mostly capable of justification; it was their practice that was open to condemnation. So it is generally possible to defend Henry's principles; but it is impossible to approve his application of them." But the fundamental Papal principle was that supreme jurisdiction over the Church belonged by divine institution to the Pope; Henry's fundamental principle was that it belonged by divine right to the king. How approve of both? On the same page the author tells us that there is little to object to in the Act of Supremacy; it only gives the king the powers of a visitor, the power to see that things are done as they ought to be; "and we cannot quarrel with the fact that there should be a supreme head in all cases civil and ecclesiastical". That is typical. The author half disguises, half admits the plain fact that it gave the king supreme and absolute spiritual jurisdiction over the national Church of England; he also refuses to consider the question whether Our Lord, in instituting His Church, set up in it such a supreme authority and determined in whom it should reside.

This attitude finally causes the author to lapse into complete absurdity, as when on p. 235 he equates the position of the Anglican Church under Henry with that of the Catholic Church in France in the eighteenth century and under Napoleon or in Italy after 1870. But even this absurdity is surpassed on p. 457. The Roman Church, he tells us, is a national Church, as is proved by the fact that for four centuries all the Popes have been Italians; and it is "not the less national because it controls many subject races". And then follows this gem of theology. A national Church, like the Church of England, can be Catholic; "any Church which professes the Catholic faith is *a* Catholic Church, but *the* Catholic Church will only be manifest when the scattered flocks of the one shepherd are gathered into one fold". Apparently when the author declares, in the Creed, his belief in one, holy, Catholic, apostolic Church, he means a collection of churches which he piously hopes may sometime become one. One might also ask him whether the doctrine which teaches the primacy of St. Peter and his successors is not a part of the Catholic faith which a church must profess in order to be Catholic.

The author's bias affects not only his treatment of the central point of his story, the Royal Supremacy, but also many of its details. The description of Pope Clement VII's action in the matter of Henry's divorce (pp. 22-74) is a ridiculous caricature. It is a pity that the author did not read or, if he read, has ignored the well-documented account of this matter by Constant (*Reformation in England*. English Translation; Appendix 2). On the other hand, it is amusing to see the author's efforts to put the best possible construction on the career and actions of the hypocritical, servile, cowardly Cranmer—who is represented, if a weak man, as on the whole an amiable person, an "open-minded theologian" whom we must not accuse of insincerity; "for he had no very fixed opinions and a very uncertain mind". The story of the Catholic martyrs is told very fairly, but with the same reluctance to admit plainly and without quibbling that they died rather than deny the papal supremacy, because they believed that doctrine to be part of the Catholic faith. (Thus, for instance, on p. 436 à propos of More: "We may say that More died for the Pope. We may say that he died for the union of western Christendom and for order in the Church,"

etc., though the author admits on the same page that More "believed that the Papacy was a divine institution".)

The author's excursions into Catholic theology sometimes display astonishing ignorance (e.g. on p. 374 à propos of Orders). His prejudices not infrequently dictate quite unfounded historical judgments (e.g. on p. 198, Cardinal Beaton persecuted heretics, "not because he detested heresy"). But I have said enough to indicate the character of the work and what the reader may expect from it.

PAUL O'DEA

THE ORIGINS OF THE GREAT SCHISM. By Walter Ullmann. London: Burns Oates. 1948. 18s.

THIS book can be recommended unreservedly to students of a great formative period in the history of modern Europe. It is essentially the work of a jurist, and there are two sections of the book that give the impression of preliminary studies for a very much more comprehensive work. For the ordinary student it is an immense advantage to have in so convenient a form the full translation of two fundamental documents, which must be mastered if any fair judgment is to be passed on a controversy which shook the Catholic Church to its foundations. One of these documents is the Latin narrative known as the *Factum Urbani*, which was issued on behalf of the Roman Pope and as a rejoinder to the *Declaratio* of the Cardinals, which was issued from Anagni on 9 August 1378. A careful study of these two leading statements is the substance of Dr. Ullmann's book. His conclusion is quite definite. Whatever may and must be said in excuse of contemporaries who were bewildered by so many charges and counter-charges, and who were genuinely scandalised by the public actions of the two rival Popes, the Roman *Factum* has all the appearance of a sober, trustworthy narrative. The *Declaratio* of the Cardinals is an *ex parte* statement by men who were determined to go through with their policy, but who knew that their arguments were based on doubtful interpretations of the Church's law.

How could so weak a case have been accepted unanimously by the whole College of Cardinals after a short period of hesitation? Dr. Ullmann gives an excellent analysis of the causes which lie at the root of this great quarrel. It was not, as he justly argues, a simple case of Frenchmen against Italians. Frenchmen were in the majority, and the French Cardinals were eager to get back to France; but all the Italian Cardinals, and the one Spanish Cardinal, ended by giving their adhesion. Nor was it a genuine doubt as to the validity of their election on 8 April 1378. One and all, they had shared in that election and had given their public adhesion to Urban VI as lawful Pope at a time when fear was no longer an excuse that could be pleaded for their action. Nor was it at first personal dislike of the new Pope. As Bartolomeo Prignani, Urban had spent most of his life at the papal court in Avignon. The Cardinals knew him and trusted him; and they thought that in choosing him as Pope they would be able to control his policy. The real issue lay in the growing corporate sense of the College of Cardinals, who had never been so powerful in the government of the Church as in the days of the Avignon Papacy. They soon came to see that Urban, with his incredible violence of speech and manner, was not prepared to pay them the respect which they felt to be their due. "You are diminishing our authority," said the Cardinal of Geneva to the Pope within a few weeks of the election; "but in truth I tell you that we will do our best to diminish yours." The man who spoke those defiant words was soon to face Urban as his rival, using the style of Clement VII.

It is a tragic story, and it is not easy to explain the disastrous change that came over Urban VI after his election. In his later years there seems to be little doubt

that his mind was unbalanced. Mental derangement may not have been so obvious in 1378, but the Cardinals soon saw that the choice they had made was little to their liking. Their fatal error was in deciding to undo their choice by pleading fear as the cause of an election which they now held to be null and void *ab initio*. In law their case was weak, and they knew it. Dr. Ullmann gives a valuable summary of the legal opinions of two men who ranked among the first of the Church's lawyers in that generation: Baldus de Ubaldis and Cardinal Zabarella. Baldus gave his judgment twice in favour of the Roman Pope. Cardinal Zabarella took a line of his own. We hope that Dr. Ullmann will have an opportunity of developing the learned Appendix on Zabarella's part in the Conciliar Movement which is here briefly outlined. Indeed we may hope that some day he will give us a full study of that movement, which was already in being before the Schism came to trouble the peace of Western Europe, but which gained immensely in importance as year after year went by and the Church of Christ was still tormented by lack of unity in the Holy See.

A. G.

THE FRENCH ACADEMIES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By Frances A. Yates. University of London: The Warburg Institute. 1947. 50s.

ACADEMIES in the beginning were pleasant places in the country where learned men walked and talked; where as in the Platonic Academy in the company of Lorenzo the Magnificent scholars moved in divine harmony to the music of the spheres and the liberal arts grew about the feet of Marsilio Ficino, Politian and Pico della Mirandola. In that generation Plato was reborn; the age of the word-catchers who live on syllables had not yet begun. Scholars had not yet entered far on the stale and forbidding ways of the grammarians or begun to legislate on the unities and the use of the pluperfect subjunctive. They still cherished the dream of universal knowledge in universal harmony. Plato and Aristotle walked side by side through Raffaelle's vision of the *School of Athens;* and in that noble conversation piece, it will be observed, there is a notable absence of bookshelves. A century or so later, in the decree founding the French Academy Richelieu ordained that its principal function should be to prepare grammars and a dictionary and to establish fixed rules for the language. Then, indeed, the young-eyed cherubim ceased to sing, the planets were silent in their orbits, and Molière preferred to read his plays to his housekeeper.

The Institute, of which Molière was not a member, is now the type of all academies and its organisation into sections is accepted as necessary and natural. Most of us assume that, though it had Italian predecessors in the fifteenth century, it was the first of French academies and that its organisation was the inevitable expression of the spirit of French order. There was, however, an earlier academic movement in the French sixteenth century based on quite different principles, and the present exhaustive study is an inquiry into this earlier initiative which worked for a brief period before regimentation set in under the absolute monarchy.

This earliest of French academies was the Académie de Poésie et de Musique for which Jean Antoine de Baif received a patent from Charles IX in 1570. Its beginnings are associated with the Pléiade; and even if we do not regard that constellation of poets and scholars as a private and informal academy, there is no doubt that it provided from its members the nucleus of the other more official grouping. Baif with his friends was greatly concerned to recover "the music of the ancients" and to set to its modes his own special type of measured verse based on quantity. The new group met in his house and garden just outside the Paris walls and in the immediate neighbourhood of the famous abbey of St. Victor. To this agreeable spot and under the stimulus of de Baif, Dorat and Tyard—all three more scholars than poets—musicians and "honest auditors" resorted in troops to accord, in the words

of a contemporary, the melodious sound of their instruments with the new cadence of the measured verse of de Baif's invention. Charles IX attended their meetings and presently formulated letters patent and statutes for the establishment and guidance of the new academy. They begin by stating that where music is disordered, morals are depraved and that men's morals are better in proportion as music is well-ordered. The purpose of the academy is to restore music to its perfection, so that habituated to its correct form the minds of auditors will be purged of the remnants of barbarism and fitted to advance to higher knowledge.

There is just that colouring in the words that one might expect from one whose forebears promoted the Platonic academy, but strictly the documents imply no more than the establishment of an allied school of music and poetry. Examining them, however, in the light of Pontus de Tyard's *Dialogues* and of the account of the academy's scheme and scope written fifty years later by Mersenne, Miss Yates finds that their language belongs wholly to the world of neo-Platonism, that a whole theory of humanism based on music lies behind the royal ordinance and that, in effect, de Baif and the king are stringing divine philosophy with Apollo's hair. Orpheus and his lute is the symbol of the ethical as well as the aesthetic aspirations of the academy. As such and with attendant tamed beasts they appear as the frontispiece to Marsenne's *Harmonie universelle* as no doubt, and for the same reason, they appear also on a mantelpiece panel in the Students' Union in No. 86 St. Stephen's Green.

Neo-Platonism was the natural speech of Pontus de Tyard and of Mersenne, Descartes's musical-humanist friend. To Mersenne as to Tyard music covered all the disciplines and was an " image of the whole encyclopædia". Mersenne looked back with regret on the academy's equipment " with masters of sciences, of tongues especially, of music, of poetry, of geography, of the various parts of mathematics and of painting who promoted the good of the mind and the military prefects who taught all those things which are useful for military discipline and the good of the body". All these things, he concludes, although confirmed by royal authority they left imperfect and unfinished " on account of the envy of certain persons".

In the next reign some of these academicians met in the Louvre disputing theology and philosophy before Henri III, and as such they assumed the name of the Palace Academy. Our author finds reason to think that certain other groupings promoted by Henri III—the Order of the Holy Spirit and the *Congrégation de Vincennes*—were in some respects a continuation in a religious form of this Palace Academy and carried on the academic spirit into the next century when the two principal bodies, overwhelmed in civil broils, had already ceased to function by 1584.

The chief theorist of the movement was Pontus de Tyard. His *Discours philosophiques* of 1587 brings together the ideas he had already formulated in his earlier dialogues of the " effects " of music and of an encyclopædic knowledge proceeding from the union of poetry and music. His principles are elaborately studied in the present volume and even more copiously in their effect on imagery in sixteenth-century French literature, pageantry, court entertainment, and on the religious life of that century. How direct this influence was may be questioned. The pervasive atmosphere of neo-Platonism is not easily precipitated and does not lend itself to strict analysis. The ardour of the thesis-writer carries her far and sweeps into her wide net such a tumultuous array of loosely related facts and deductions that one is almost surprised that, in her examination of La Boderie's singular poem *La Galliade* and of the " effects of ancient music," she omitted reference to the Daghda and his harp. Miss Yates, has, however, made an unusual and original contribution to her subject and, with many novel illustrations, has brought together an amount of curious information in an unfamiliar context which deserves the attention of students of sixteenth-century history.

C. P. CURRAN

THE REPUTATION OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS AMONG ENGLISH PROTESTANT THINKERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By John K. Ryan. Washington : Catholic University of America Press. 1948. $ 2.50.

It is generally assumed that the contempt shown by Bacon and Hobbes for the Scholastics was characteristic of English Protestants from Elizabeth's reign onwards. In fact, however, all the seriously religious Protestant thinkers of the seventeenth century showed high respect for medieval philosophy and, more warily, for medieval theology. The Catholicising tendencies of the Stuart sovereigns, two of whom died Catholics, certainly favoured the study of Scholasticism. Moreover Protestantism, like every other religion, needs to be reconciled with a defensible philosophy and Scholasticism was the only Christian philosophy then to hand. True, it was embarrassingly confirmatory of the theology of the Catholic Church. But part of this theology had been retained by the Protestants, and there was always the chance of being able to interpret the Scholastics in a sense contrary to the remainder. Jeremy Taylor at least thought it worth while to try to prove that St. Thomas anticipated Luther in several points.

Actually, however, not even Scholastic philosophy could prove a comfortable foundation for Protestantism. Once the doctrine of an infallible external authority as the guardian of divine revelation had been abandoned, Protestants had to seek confirmation of their private judgements on religious matters within themselves. They could no longer accept the Catholic definition of faith as assent to divine revelation, for this required an external authority to direct their minds to the authentic revelation and to determine its precise sense. They therefore defined faith as confidence in Christ, confidence that He would not permit them to fall into error and would impetrate God not to impute to them their sins. And this confidence that Christ would not let them err was the confirmation that they needed to turn their private judgements into the certainty of belief.

Great must have been their consternation then when, despite their confidence, they found themselves falling into an ever greater diversity in their religious beliefs. The only hope of reconciling such diversity with Protestant confidence in immunity from error was by supposing the relativity of truth, a principle radically opposed to Scholastic doctrine. Not Scholasticism but Kantianism was the genuine Protestant philosophy, and Schleiermacher proved it when he easily grafted it, with all its presages of modernism, on his authentically Protestant doctrine of religious experience as the guarantee of religious faith.

This summary carries us far beyond the scope of Dr. Ryan's book, but it explains some of his findings. He has collected the allusions to St. Thomas in the writings of Donne, James I, Lancelot Andrewes, Hall, Burton, Sir Thomas Browne, Chillingworth, Bramhall, Hobbes, Jeremy Taylor, Baxter and several others of the same century. Most of them show their recognition of St. Thomas's genius by their generally reluctant praise and admiration, some by their terror and abuse. Dr. Ryan might have added to his evidence. He does not mention that Burton narrates the story of how St. Thomas, dining with Louis IX, came out of his reverie and exclaimed *apropos des bottes* : " The Manichaeans are done for." Again, in the account of Donne's perversion it would have been fair to state that he spent many months studying both sides of the problem (how sincerely is another question) before electing to become an Anglican. But Dr. Ryan's book is a useful and readable work ; it should maintain his high reputation for scholarship and perhaps give him a new one as a literary critic. For under one aspect his book is an entertaining anthology of remarkable prose, some of it sublime, some moving, some grotesque, some intentionally or unintentionally funny, some of it the most exhilarating Billings-

gate. One of the funniest touches is Burton's recommendation of the reading of Suarez's Metaphysics as a cure for melancholy, as if that book were enough to make anyone laugh. Never was a more devastating compliment.

But though Dr. Ryan does prove his thesis, his book seems to one reader at least to be misleading in one implication. By not calling attention to the esteem in which other Scholastics were held, he exaggerates somewhat the pre-eminence enjoyed by St. Thomas in the eyes of the Protestants. Thus he thinks that Smith's doctrine of participation and his distinction between images (*facies*) and vestiges of God prove Thomistic influence when in fact they are, though indeed Thomistic, more characteristic of Bonaventure and the Platonists. Moreover it is a matter of history that some contemporary Jesuit writers were at least as influential on most of the Protestants as was St. Thomas.

The immense prestige of Bellarmine at the beginning of the century can be gathered from some of Dr. Ryan's own quotations. It may be asked whether James I showed more sincere respect by his few perfunctory words of approval of St. Thomas or by his furious diatribes against Bellarmine and by his order to his hangman to burn in public the *De Defensione Fidei* of Suarez. Dr. Ryan suggests Thomistic ancestry for Hobbes's social contract theory. But in reality it resembles the doctrine of Suarez more closely than that of St. Thomas, and Hobbes shows more familiarity with Suarez than with any other Scholastic. At the end of the century Baxter, whom Dr. Ryan dismisses in a few lines, has (if memory serves) three allusions to Suarez to one of St. Thomas in his exquisite work *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*. Self-taught Baxter indeed was a Suaresian. On the other hand it is a strong point in favour of Dr. Ryan's view that James I and Charles I prescribed Lombard and Aquinas to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge as the proper nourishment for beginners in divinity. Perhaps the period illustrates the truth that the public is wont to act on the shaky principle that the new is always the better, and prefers to be led by contemporary and exciting thinkers rather than by the established classics. But against that explanation is the fact that the pre-eminence of Suarez persisted throughout Europe until the second half of the eighteenth century.

A. L.

THE LINCOLN THEME AND AMERICAN NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY. By David M. Potter. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1948. 2s.

As a climax to recent Americana let us signal *The Lincoln Theme*, a concise and informing Inaugural Lecture delivered at Oxford by Professor David Potter, who is Harmsworth Professor of American History. If we had any perspective in Dublin, we would send not political missions to America but an Educational Committee to request the foundation of a similar Chair in University College. It would also be an opportunity to place the whole plight of our National University before Irish Americans of wealth and importance. But that is another story.

Meantime we can appreciate this historical treatment of the whole Lincoln Legend which has sprung up in the memory of man. Many of us have talked to men who had seen Lincoln. My only link is Cardinal Gibbons, who told us one evening how he had gone to the White House to appeal to the President for the life of a Southern rebel. Vividly he described the great man descending the stair at night holding a candle in his great hairy arm. But Gibbons as a child had been lifted by his parents to watch Andrew Jackson pass by.

Lincoln has become deified by the people whose Union he saved, and there is a cluster of stories which the historians are struggling to dissever from facts. Every year there is a new book written on Lincoln, just as there is on Nelson in England.

Biography generally begins with the Lives of the Saints and ends under the Iconoclasts. How much of the early history of Lincoln is true? His loves, his marriage are all of surpassing interest to writers. For instance Maurice Ashley adds a note to his *Mr. President* on " Did Lincoln fail to turn up at his own wedding? "

" No account of Lincoln's paternity has been too fantastic to win credence " says Dr. Potter ; " no rumour about body-snatchers at his tomb or Jesuit conspiracy at his assassination has lacked spokesmen and believers". It is a relief to know that he was legitimate and that he did once " split rails", though we can no longer believe that Washington split a cherrytree. Dr. Potter has clothed the picturesque and picaresque Lincoln in credible garments. Even so his life and eventual influence upon all world history have proved incredible.

Lincoln's relations to Slavery are analysed. He was not the great Emancipator, for his famous Proclamation was limited and he advanced by degrees and with every consideration for the rights of property. He set the Union first and recognised the loyal Slave States.

The legend of the Frontiersman also needs to be unmasked by historians, who are pouring the rays of relentless investigation into every corner of Lincoln's life and character. It is amazing what detail has been gradually picked up, but whole phases of that unknown and obscure existence have perished. Who could have dreamed that he would one day represent the great and final American to his country and to the world? Who could have dreamed that any relic, any letter, any piece of vesture, any authentic split-rail would have a value in sentiment and money that no collar or tree-chip of Gladstone could ever have touched?

Grammar and literature Lincoln taught himself. He confessed to deficiency in education. He split infinitives as easy as rails ; but he always accepted correction and towered above the better-bred, better-educated, better-mannered Cabinet.

SHANE LESLIE

POLITICS AND SOCIOLOGY

COMMUNISM AND THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WEST. By Fulton J. Sheen. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1948. 12s. 6d. nett.

MORAL PRINCIPLES. By Alfred O'Rahilly. Cork University Press and Blackwell (Oxford). 1948. 2s.

SOCIAL PRINCIPLES. By Alfred O'Rahilly. Cork University Press and Blackwell (Oxford). 1948. 2s.

MONSIGNOR FULTON SHEEN's book is not a study of all the problems of Communism. He treats Communism not as an economic doctrine but rather as a philosophy of life. To him it is " an active barbarism " whose progress has been due to " a passive barbarism " within Western civilization, for civilizations tend to decay from within. The basic struggle in the modern world is neither economic nor political but moral and spiritual, and " involves above all else whether man shall exist for the state or the state for man, and whether freedom is of the spirit or a concession of a materialized society ".

The author begins with an account of the decline of Historical Liberalism and the rise of the anti-religious spirit. Here he traces the very complicated series of historical causes out of which modern Communism has emerged and which help to explain its appeal to multitudes of men. This is, I think, the most vital problem presented by Communism, and the author discusses it elaborately in a later chapter on " How to meet Communism". In the intervening chapters he gives some account of the philosophy of Communism, its basic defects and what leading Communists have to say about their ideals and methods. Finally he discusses actual conditions in Russia and contrasts them with conditions in America.

It will be seen that the author is on familiar ground and is dealing with problems which have attracted a great deal of attention in recent times and on which there is a vast outpouring of literature. The book, naturally enough, has an American orientation. The author supports his views with abundant—perhaps too abundant—references to authorities from which he quotes freely. It is not so easy to determine the class of reader to which the book is directed. It is, perhaps, too learned for the average reader and, for the expert, not learned enough. In so brief a survey this difficulty may possibly be inescapable. That the author is aware of it seems clear from his account of the dialectical method of Hegel, although it seems somewhat wanton to give " an explanation of Hegel so simple that, if Hegel heard it, he would turn over in his grave ".

The President of University College, Cork, publishes in two booklets talks broadcast from Radio Éireann. He tells us in a Preface that he lacked the leisure required for re-writing and expanding these talks. No doubt something would be gained by such expansion, but something also would be lost. They have not, it may be, the unity, coherence and completeness that would be possible in a systematic treatment. But they have something which the average intelligent reader, who often shows a healthy aversion to text-books, will appreciate more. They are eminently readable. They deal with the objections and difficulties which inevitably occur to intelligent readers in connection with ethical and sociological problems. Though brief, they are in no way superficial. Dr. O'Rahilly always gets down to the genuine philosophical problem. He writes (or talks) with verve and gusto. Whenever he sees an illogical or unphilosophical head he hits it with infallible accuracy. He has the happy faculty of being at once instructive and entertaining. D. O'K.

THE MEANING OF MAN. By Jean Mouroux. Translated by A. H. C. Downes. London: Sheed and Ward. 1948. 12s. 6d.

THE IMAGE OF HIS MAKER. By Robert Edward Brennan, O.P. Cork: Mercier Press. 1948. 15s.

M. MOUROUX studies the problem which has become through the course of events the most pressing for our survival and peace even in the changing world. He takes up the challenge of those—and they are many—who see man more and more as a fragment—or a summit—of the universe, and reject explicitly the Catholic interpretation of man as outworn. He states the indictment against the Christian religion, the enemy of beauty, art, civilisation, human love. " At bottom, the christian is the enemy of all human joys. He has perforce to extend them a sort of toleration, but he hedges it round with rules and restrictions: whether there is question of sport or friendship or love he accords but a grudging allowance accompanied by warnings, prohibitions and threats. Under pretext of loving God he merely hates the world and wants everybody else to hate it likewise."

The indictment is not new. This has always been the judgment of the cities of the plain upon those who dwell among the mountains. The image of the pale Galilean, which they themselves have distorted, has always affronted the exponents of polished Liberalism. M. Mouroux corrects this disastrous misunderstanding not by an astringent polemic against the adversaries but by exposing in all its depth and variety the Catholic answer to the riddle of Man.

The first sentence of this book contains, as every first sentence should, the last and all between—" Man is a creature destined to live in two worlds " opens the study; " Elizabeth of the Trinity exclaimed as she lay dying, in a cry which is at once the fulfilment of human hope and the dawn of the eternal certitudes: ' I go to the Light, to Love and to Life.' " The rest of the book moves between these two statements.

It has been said that all final truths are paradoxical. And M. Mouroux describes, eloquently at times, the paradoxes which emerge from a close study of Man. At the very centre of his being love of self and love of God, each imperative on its own level, keep him at tension, and he must solve the apparent paradox by making himself a centrifugal centre, which is a further paradox. Then, too, though soul and body complete each other and therefore possess an appetite for union, still each in desire opposes the other and so they incline to fly apart. The union between soul and body is not just an external association. The forces conjoint and in conflict are not separate ; but between them dissension arises within union, combat within a commonwealth, so that man is at once a battlefield and a Lelantine plain, the ground of a thousand paradoxes.

The Christian better than anyone else resolves these paradoxes, because he is at once rationalist and fideist. The soul and its powers have their place in the explanation, and so has the body. Perhaps the most useful part of this book is the discussion about the role of the body and its interpretation in the Christian scale of values. Here the reader will see clearly described the difference between Materialism and Cartesian Angelism and between both of these errors and Catholic doctrine. The ascetic theologian will see too how to avoid giving the impression by over statement that the Catholic is called to be a follower of Yogi, a good angel rather than a good man or woman. M. Mouroux, having quoted St. Bernard, remarks : " These beautiful texts of St. Bernard's show, if need be, the lucid appreciation and deep love of the body which animated the great Christian ascetics. There is no need, after all, to make excuses for a contempt they never professed."

The reader will find much else in this deep and kindly book, the product of an observant mind informed by wide reading, to repay the effort which he must make in reading it. The need of self-denial ; the close analysis of love leading to the conclusion that all true love in this disordered world is redemptive, transforming men and things from what they are into what they ought to be ; the liberating effect of giving oneself wholly to a cause or a person other than oneself—all this is shown to be truly humane and the issue of a reasonable ascetic.

There are, too, chapters on Personality and Free Will, which dispel many ambiguities. Free will, the author points out, is a problem of mechanism, Liberty a problem of meaning or purpose which is proper to a person in quest of an end which will give it rest at last from desire. The author analyses with acute insight the forces that contract liberty in man without determining his choices, and shows how the doctrine, example and grace of Christ can enable this captive liberty to be master of itself.

M. Mouroux treats adversaries fairly, allowing what is true in Freud's, Schopenhauer's and Nietzsche's theories while pointing out how fragmentary they are when compared with the Christian solution. In fact, the reader is aware all the time of a wide erudition which does not obtrude itself, for the author is conversant with the latest trends in Catholic theological speculation though he does not openly defend this or the other suggested solution. He shows that he is acquainted with the development of Trinitarian theology, and some expressions seem to show that Père de Lubac's writings have had some influence upon him.

Perhaps some of his inferences are too rapid and some conclusions do not flow clearly from the premises. Nevertheless, this is a remarkable book which educated Catholics and non-Catholics ought to read. It will demand close study ; it could not be taken up as a substitute for a game of dominoes : but it will give those who ponder it an accurate knowledge of Catholic doctrine about the significance of man and about the place man occupies in the scale of being.

Fr. Brennan's book is addressed to a different audience: it is written for the young. It explains lucidly and simply what man is by analysing the material and the spiritual constituents of his nature—his appetites, instincts, senses outer and inner, imagination, perceptions, ideas, the texture of the soul, its origin and destiny, and the origin of the body. The author follows Aristotle and St. Thomas closely and states their arguments accurately and in such simple language that every person of fair intelligence should be able to follow the reasoning. We have here a good book on Catholic psychology, quite different from and far more readable than the text-books of that subject. Even the proficient might read it with profit, for it should lead them to discard technical jargon when they are treating the more elementary parts of their discipline.

Father Brennan's admiration for St. Thomas is refreshing—but, at times, somewhat exuberant. Father Brennan sometimes forces St. Thomas on the stage when the cue does not lead us to expect his appearance, as for example in the following passage: "There was an old philosopher called Boethius. He died in 524, which was seven centuries before St. Thomas was born. He is not as great a figure in the story of philosophy as Aquinas; yet his name will always be remembered for one thing he did."

However, this book is among the best of its kind—clear, full, simple and accurate; and it has an index. J. E. C.

Religion and Philosophy

PHILOSOPHIE DE LA RELIGION. By Paul Ortegat, S.J. Gembloux: Duculot. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie. Paris: Vrin. 1948. 2 vols.

It is surprising that so little of the published work formally treating of the philosophy of religion is by Scholastics. Certainly most of the ground is covered by Scholastic manuals on natural theology and ethics. But this occasional treatment of the subject inevitably leaves many questions unexamined, some perhaps important. In particular man's need of God as evinced by an analysis of his spiritual appetites has not received the attention it deserves—the attention, for instance, that man's need for morality has received.

One would expect that a work on this subject would be suggested particularly by Maréchal's philosophy. A philosophy of religion naturally stems from a religious philosophy. And, in a sense, none of the great Scholastics except Bonaventure has been the author of a philosophy so constantly and explicitly religious as Maréchal. In the philosophies of both these very different thinkers it is not much of an exaggeration to say that God is the conclusion of the first argument and the premiss of every other. But Maréchal is doubtless the more scientific and metaphysical; he has certainly probed more deeply than his predecessors, both by reason and psychological observation, into the evidences of man's relation to the Absolute. In doing so he has boldly Scholasticised the Kantian philosophy, replacing the categories by a single category of being, the postulate of the Absolute through a suspension of disbelief by the necessary existence of the Absolute as revealed in the teleological dynamism of mind and will towards the Being that is Being, and in general mystification by Thomistification. If he has indulged a kindly bias in his interpretation of Kant, it was no more than that shown by Augustine for Plato or by Aquinas for Aristotle.

It is therefore fitting that almost the first large monograph on the philosophy of religion by a Scholastic should be by one of the most penetrating and convinced of Maréchal's followers. Fr. Ortegat begins in the classical manner of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle with an attempt to define religion, though they might shake their heads at the looseness of his first formula. Tentatively he defines religion as

a Sense of the Absolute ; but while religion always is a sense of the Absolute, he admits that not every sense of the Absolute is sufficient to be called a religion. The phrase needs to be rightly explained ; and so its meaning is gradually qualified and the definition of religion as implicit in the general use of the word is gradually determined by considering the inadequacy of irreligious or semi-religious views of religion. Actually a full definition does not come till the end of the whole work. But meanwhile we have had a panorama of old and new thought throughout the world that alone would make the work valuable.

The grossest of the adversaries, the empiricists, first come up for examination. Anthropologists like Sir James Frazer presume that the Absolute is only a postulate of primitive man to explain experience and natural phenomena ; their evidence is the external behaviour of primitive man. Fr. Ortegat chides them for neglecting the evidence of their own spiritual tendencies. And indeed their failure to consult their own minds and hearts admits only of an uncomplimentary explanation. Agnosticism is declared inadmissible because God, the end of the mind, cannot be unknowable. On the contrary He is necessarily, though confusedly, *known* in every act of the judgement. Schopenhauer's pessimism or belief in a blind will or fate is also inadmissible because the human will is ordered to the Absolute under the aspect of good or order. Thus Maréchal's two fundamental principles, the dynamism of intellect and will, are firmly grounded at the outset. Dilettantism or indifference is then rejected as unjustifiable since indifference in important matters is inconsistent with sincerity. Indifference, the religious disease of the English, is here expounded with the deepest sympathy and criticised with the utmost ruthlessness. The Kantian Absolute does not answer to human desires because it is at bottom only an expedient fiction, a dignified idol. The study of Kant is fresh and striking. He is praised for rediscovering, after Aristotle, the necessary distinction and connection between mind and sense. The forms of space and time, it is contended, are real because, since they synthesise the subject and the real object, they belong equally to both. But if the act of sensation is a union effected by the subject by endowing the object with those forms, it is not easy to accept this view. Finally the Absolute is not to be identified with the Ideal Absolute of Hegel, for it must be real and *prior* to all thought.

Having thus proved that by his nature man's spiritual activity is necessarily directed to a real Absolute, a Personal Being, Who *ipso facto* is proved to exist, Fr. Ortegat next turns to the other arm of religion, morality or the way of seeking the Absolute. That way is not governed by a law operating through physical necessity, as Spinoza and other determinists contend ; for religion is self-direction to the Absolute, a personal effort. Neither is morality possible in the absence of all law, as the libertinism of Nietzsche, the rejection of all law, contends ; for an activity without an end, that is without a law, is impotent. Nor is the norm or law relative. William James in his pragmatistic Philosophy declared that the good is the useful and the useful is relative to the individual. Fr. Ortegat shows that the law must be declared at least in general terms by the faculty itself to itself ; else men must relapse into radical libertinism. The norm or law is therefore absolute—but again not in Kant's sense. The law-giver is God, not human nature, and God must be known as real, not merely as a postulate, if the obligation is real—a point that some Scholastics would qualify.

The right kind of knowledge for knowing the Absolute is next considered. It is not intuition—not, for instance, Schleiermacher's sentiment or the religious experience of the modernists, not the immediate intelligence of Bergson or the non-rational fideism of Christian existentialists (one recalls Gabriel Marcel's naughty epigram : " theodicy is atheism "). Dogma and rational deduction have their neces-

sary place, though they too are not enough unless they are confirmed by the satisfaction of the will in recognising the accuracy of its aim to its end.

Collecting his conclusions, Fr. Ortegat now finds the way clear for constructing his own positive philosophy of religion in a few firm chapters. Religion is a relation of human being to Divine Being, personal on both sides, private and free. Nevertheless religion is also a social activity. Man needs to be introduced to it by his preceptors. And when he is mature the element of brotherhood, the bond of interest in a common Cause, supervenes to make the Church a life-long necessity even in the eyes of a mere philosopher. The idea and function of the Church are analysed in detail; though surprisingly there is hardly a mention of the idea of sacrifice. And, though natural reason cannot foretell it with confidence, philosophy is ready to welcome further Divine intervention such as revelation and redemption. Finally religion is fully defined as " the speculative, vital, and social union of the person to God, considered as a Personal Being and Creator. It is not exclusively made up of morality or metaphysics, of acts or feelings. It requires not only an external and psychological union, individual and collective, speculative and dynamic, but a substantial and ontological union". The last words seem to imply that the Incarnation pertains to the perfection of religion. A very long appendix contains further superb studies of all the greatest religious thinkers of modern times.

Undoubtedly Fr. Ortegat's impressive work is important and valuable. It may deserve higher praise, but it is impossible to assess it more precisely in the time allowed to a reviewer. One or two surprising ideas may be set down as overstatements irresistible to such a lover of paradox as the author. On page 69 it is asserted that freedom is present not only in man but throughout nature. This is true in so remote a sense that, unless it is expressly qualified, it is hardly true ; and the profound argument suggested in support of the statement only bears out the remote sense. More important is the assertion (page 359) that two things opposed only by their position in space and time, without qualitative differences, would be identical. It seems relevant to quote the Commentary on Boethius's *De Trinitate* where to the question *Utrum locus sit principium individuationis?* St. Thomas answers Yes. But the weakest chapter in the book, I think, is the one dealing with the proof of freewill. Fr. Ortegat, falling into the trap first laid by John Stewart Mill, denies consciousness of liberty on the ground that we are conscious, not of powers, but only of acts which once produced are necessary. He overlooks the possibility of being conscious of a power, within an act already produced, further to determine that act. It will not surprise anyone who has thought out the implications of Fr. Maréchal's doctrine of the *primum cognitum* as *formally* quantitative being to find Fr. Ortegat hesitating to admit the validity of the metaphysical argument for freewill. He substitutes for it a cumulative proof from the *signs* of liberty in the individual consciousness that, for all its length and literary interest, seems to be far short of peremptory.

Fr. Ortegat is to be congratulated on having produced an outstanding work that may yet be acclaimed a masterpiece. A. L.

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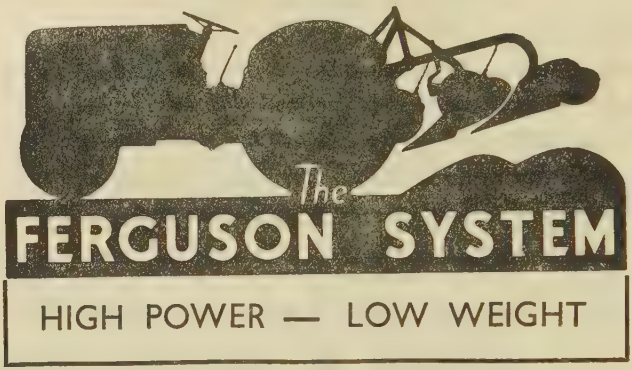

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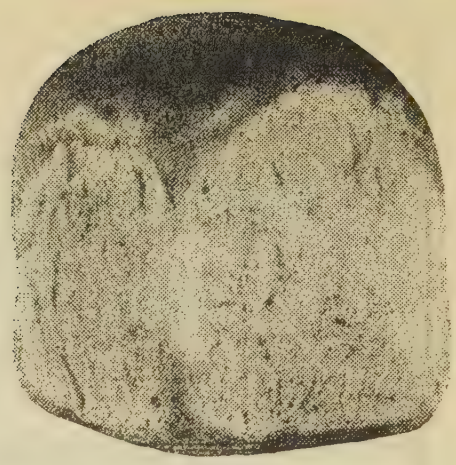

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